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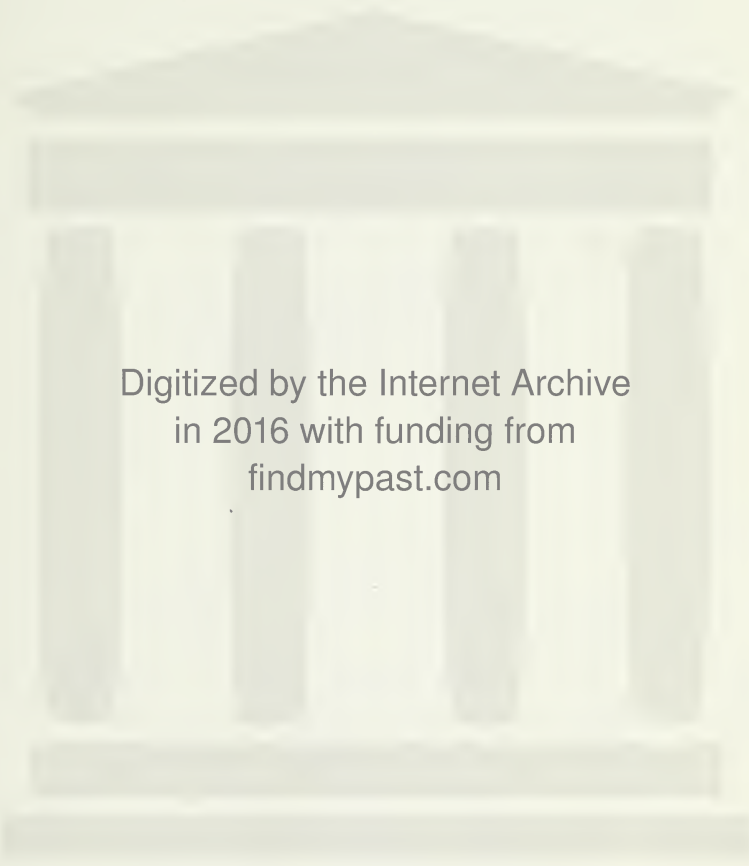
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Table of Contents

5	<i>The Braidwood Lockout of 1874</i> HERBERT G. GUTMAN
29	<i>The Kidnaped Cornerstone</i> CARL G. HODGES
37	<i>Chicago's Camp Douglas, 1861-1865</i> JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR.
64	<i>Mission Unaccomplished — Lincoln and an Office-Seeker</i> WILLIAM S. WARFORD
70	LINCOLNIANA NOTES <i>Lincoln the Real Estate Agent</i> <i>Freeport Society Issues Debate Book</i> <i>Lincoln Letter Given to University</i> <i>Lincoln and Douglas Plaques at Knoxville</i>
80	BOOK REVIEWS
99	RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
102	NEWS AND COMMENT

Illustrations

Cover	<i>Fort Armstrong on Rock Island</i>
31	<i>The Illinois State Capitol Under Construction</i>
31	<i>Men and Horses Supplied the Power to Build the Capitol</i>
34	<i>The Cornerstone That "Disappeared"</i>
40	<i>A Bird's-Eye View of Camp Douglas</i>
44	<i>"One of the Streets" at Camp Douglas</i>
49	<i>"Bunks . . . Where [the Prisoners] Do Their Sleeping"</i>
54	<i>Camp Douglas Prisoners Waiting for Roll Call</i>
57	<i>Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet</i>
60	<i>Punishment of Prisoners at Camp Douglas</i> (three drawings)
66	<i>Orville H. Browning</i>
74	<i>Plat of Bullock's Addition to the City of Springfield</i>
100	<i>Ulysses S. Grant</i>
101	<i>George Washington</i>
101	<i>Abraham Lincoln</i>

The Braidwood Lockout of 1874

Assistant professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson University (Teaneck, New Jersey), Herbert G. Gutman received his doctorate in 1959 from the University of Wisconsin. He has written articles on labor history for the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography and the Ohio Historical Quarterly, and is currently preparing books on labor in the depression of 1873 and on the progress of industrialism between 1864 and 1880. This article was developed from research made possible by a Social Science Research Council grant.

BITUMINOUS COAL mining became increasingly important in central and northern Illinois after the Civil War, and its rapid development caused great changes in the economic and social life of that region. Entrepreneurs of all kinds rushed into the area: railroad corporations poured capital into the coal industry; mine operators recruited thousands of workers — both immigrant and native born — to dig for the wealth that lay buried there. And for these workers, merchants opened stores. Existing towns boomed, and new towns sprang up because of the mining industry.¹ Little has been written of these towns in the early years of industrialization. A labor dispute in Braidwood in 1874 reveals a great deal about social relations and attitudes toward industrialization in such towns, and it challenges the traditional interpretation of post-Civil War labor history that emphasizes the power of the post-bellum industrialist, his “popu-

1. There is a fine description of the central Illinois coal mining region in James MacFarlane, *The Coal-Regions of America: Their Topography, Geology, and Development* (New York, 1873), 407-36.

larity" among other property owners and his almost unlimited freedom of choice when he dealt with his workers.

Within a few years after the close of war, Braidwood in Will County had become the most important coal mining town in northeastern Illinois. Its development was unusually rapid since it was on the main line of the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad and about sixty miles south of Chicago. No coal field in the country was nearer, and access to that major market gave Braidwood a distinct economic advantage. Even though Chicago received most of its coal from Pennsylvania and Ohio, the Braidwood coal still found an important market there. In 1870, for example, most of the 228,000 tons of coal mined in Braidwood went to Chicago. Although it generated less heat than the better grades of eastern fuel, it was used in locomotives and, more important, it was sold uncleansed of sulphur and slate to those Chicagoans who could not afford the better Pennsylvania coal. Contemporaries referred to the Braidwood product as "the poor man's coal," but that figure of speech did not lessen the demand.²

In 1873, when the depression called a temporary halt to the expansion of the Illinois mining industry, Braidwood was less than a dozen years old. The mining industry there had not been grafted onto an older community, for coal mining and Braidwood had grown together, and by 1873 six thousand persons, mostly miners and their families, lived in the town.³ Since its physical growth and economic expansion had occurred simultaneously, social and class relations lacked the stability and relative rigidity that were characteristic of

2. *Ibid.*, 429-32, 435-36 and 670. See also John James, "The Braidwood Coal Field System of Mining," Ohio Inspector of Mines, *Fourth Annual Report to the Governor*, 1877 (Columbus, 1877), 118-31.

3. *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

older, more settled communities. In one sense, then, Braidwood was similar to the classic frontier community described by Frederick Jackson Turner. Social relations were direct and intimate in this industrial frontier community.

Braidwood was a mining town and little else. Except for the coal miners and their families and the mine supervisors, only the small businessmen and shopkeepers who supplied the miners lived there. The town was physically unattractive. "As to the town," a contemporary wrote, "it is scattered and dilapidated. There is one long business street, fronted by unsteady frame buildings of all stages of growth and decay. Some of them are raised above the level of the street and some are below it." Unlike other western towns of similar size, Braidwood had no "agricultural neighborhood to give it support." The barren tracts of prairie that surrounded the town were owned by the local coal firms and by private speculators. "Without its coal-shafts," a reporter candidly told *Chicago Tribune* readers, Braidwood would have had "no reasonable apology for existing."⁴

Of the town's three coal companies, the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company was by far the largest and most powerful in 1873. Its president, James Monroe Walker, was also the head of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. The company had five operating mine shafts and employed no less than nine hundred men, more than half of the resident miners. The two other firms — the Wilmington Star Mining Company and the Wilmington Mining and Manufacturing Company — were much smaller. Only a few of the mine owners actually lived in Braidwood. Walker resided in Chicago, and other mine owners lived in Wilmington, a small nonindustrial town near Braidwood.

4. *Ibid.*, June 22, 1874, April 21, 1877.

The Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company was large enough to dominate the economic life of the entire town. Neither of the smaller firms had enough market power to challenge it, and they usually followed its lead in such matters as setting a wage scale or determining the selling price for coal.⁵

The miners were a curiously mixed lot. Living either in company-owned tenements that bore "a striking resemblance to log-houses in the backwoods" or in privately owned "little homesteads," most of the sixteen hundred miners were immigrants.⁶ Unlike most other small industrial towns of the post-Civil War decade, Braidwood had an ethnically diverse wage-earning population. About half of the miners came from Ireland. Another twenty-five per cent were English, Welsh and Scotch. A smaller number were Swedes, Italians and Germans, and still others came from France and Belgium and even from Poland and Russia. A number of native-born miners added to the heterogeneous composition of the labor force. "The town of Braidwood," a somewhat astonished reporter wrote, "is . . . nearly akin to Babel as regards the confusion of tongues."⁷

In spite of their differing backgrounds, the miners formed a surprisingly cohesive social community. They started a trade union in 1872 that was strong enough to extract a reasonable wage agreement from the three coal firms.⁸ The Braidwood branch was probably better organized than any other local union that belonged to the Illinois Benevolent

5. *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874; *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874; and J. MacFarlane, *Coal-Regions of America*, 429-32, 435-36.

6. *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

7. *Ibid.*, June 22, 1874, April 21, 1877; *Workingman's Advocate*, Dec. 19, 1874; *Miners' National Record*, I (Dec., 1874): 22.

8. A Miner, An Appeal to the Miners of District No. 4, n.d., *Workingman's Advocate*, Feb. 7, 1874.

and Protective Association of the Northwest.⁹ Its leaders were able trade unionists. John James, head of the Braidwood union, left in 1873 to become national secretary of the Miners' National Association, a position he held until 1876. Daniel McLaughlin, a young Scotch miner, succeeded James as head of the union.¹⁰ Its members regularly paid their monthly dues, built up sizable reserve funds and frequently supported and encouraged other midwestern miners' trade unions. McLaughlin, for example, often traveled through Illinois, attempting to arouse union sentiment among miners.¹¹ In the fall of 1873, the Braidwood union was one of the first locals in the country to join the newly formed Miners' National Association. The vote was unanimous.¹² It was not surprising, then, that John Siney, president of the Miners' National Association, was welcomed more warmly in Braidwood than in any other town he visited when he was on an organizing trip through the Illinois country in the spring of 1874.¹³

The miners also took an interest in local and state politics. In 1874, for example, they sent delegates to the Illinois State Grange convention.¹⁴ While favoring independent political action by "the producing classes," they nevertheless sup-

9. Details of the structure of the Braidwood Miners' Union appear in William Bulloch to Andrew Cameron, Oct. 30, 1873, *ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1873; *ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1873; and Black Diamond Cutter, Braidwood, to the editor, Feb. 3, 1874, *ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1874.

10. John James — American Labor Portraits: No. 4, *ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1873; J. James to the editor, Dec. 17, 1873, *ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1873; report of Miners' Union meeting, *ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1874; interview with Daniel McLaughlin, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

11. W. Bulloch to A. Cameron, Oct. 30, 1873, *Workingman's Advocate*, Nov. 1, 1873; Black Diamond Cutter, Braidwood, to the editor, Feb. 3, 1874, *ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1874.

12. W. Bulloch to A. Cameron, Oct. 30, 1873, *ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1873.

13. Black Diamond Cutter, Braidwood, to the editor, *ibid.*, April 11, 1874.

14. Black Diamond Cutter, Braidwood, to the editor, Feb. 3, 1874, *ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1874.

ported the candidates of the major parties who showed some sympathy for the miners. Local Democrats and Republicans often catered to the "miner vote." A hostile observer complained that nearly all the voters in Braidwood were miners and that a majority of the city aldermen and justices of the peace "are or have been miners." The mayor in 1874 was L. C. Goodrich, a local merchant, who, though not a miner, depended on them for trade. In one manner or another, the writer insisted, the miners influenced local politics; it was important "to secure and retain the good will of the miners" if one sought public office.¹⁵

Although local politics interested the miner, his central problems were economic. The contracts offered by the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company contained numerous harsh clauses that demanded an exacting degree of labor discipline.¹⁶ The mines usually lacked proper safety devices, and in December, 1873, miners working in the King Shaft struck because their mine was without an escape shaft.¹⁷

Petty abuses by supervisors also irritated the miners. "The underground manager," wrote an employee of the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm, "has an interest in two whisky shops . . . , one of which is kept by his son-in-law. Men who bestow their patronage on these places are furnished steady employment and good at that, while the good man, should he be a Templar and Unionist, is ousted

15. Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874. See also Black Diamond Cutter, Braidwood, to the editor, April, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, April 11, 1874.

16. A full copy of the contract offered by the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company to its miners appears in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

17. *Workingman's Advocate*, Nov. 29, 1873; J. James to the editor, Dec. 3, 1873; undated Braidwood dispatch, *ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1873.

to make . . . room.”¹⁸ Other miners called the company’s assistant superintendent “the meanest and dirtiest knave that ever filled such a position.”¹⁹ At the same time, the miners respected the more decent supervisors. Indeed, Daniel McLaughlin called Alexander Crombie, the Scotch superintendent of the Wilmington Star Mining Company, “a good fair man.” Crombie, who had been a miner himself, told a reporter: “God knows I have no desire to tyrannize over these poor fellows. I worked under ground myself for many a long year and know how hard it is.”²⁰

At the start of the 1873 depression, the miners worked under written wage agreements that were to expire on June 1, 1874.²¹ Although the demand for coal dropped sharply during the winter months of 1873 and 1874, the companies met the contract wages but shortened the work week and laid off miners. The men who worked were all on half time. By March, 1874 at least 25 per cent of the miners were unemployed. One miner found Braidwood “dull beyond all precedent.”²² Demand remained slack through the spring months, and the miners expected a wage cut under the new contract. A few days before June 1, the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company posted a new wage schedule at its pit heads. The two smaller firms immediately followed suit. The rate for digging coal fell from \$1.25 to \$1.10 a ton, and the price for “pushing” coal from the work wall to the shaft

18. Unidentified letter from a Braidwood miner to J. James, Cleveland, n.d., enclosed in James to the editor, March 10, 1874, *ibid.*, March 21, 1874.

19. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 1, 1874, *ibid.*, June 27-July 4, 1874.

20. Interviews with Alexander Crombie and Daniel McLaughlin, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

21. M. Dando to the editor, June 6, 1874, *Workingman’s Advocate*, June 13, 1874; *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874; *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

22. Braidwood dispatch, *Workingman’s Advocate*, Feb. 21, 1874 and unidentified letter from a miner, Braidwood, to J. James, n.d., enclosed in James to the editor, March 10, 1874, *ibid.*, March 21, 1874.

entrance was cut nearly in half. Rejecting negotiations with the union, the companies announced that the mines would close on June 1 unless the men accepted the new contract for a full year.²³

The miners overwhelmingly turned down the contract. On May 28, at a huge open air meeting, they accused the operators of taking advantage of the depression. They insisted that in "good times" and under the old rates it had been difficult to earn \$1.50 a day. Still, they were willing to compromise. They accepted the new price for digging but rejected the change in the "pushing" rates. "While we concede that the exigencies of the present times may demand a reduction to some extent and for some time," the miners declared, "we do not admit nor cannot think it reasonable to make the present temporary lull in business the pretext for so large a reduction."²⁴

But the coal companies pushed aside the offer of compromise and closed the mines on June 1. That day more than fifteen hundred miners gathered at what was the largest meeting ever held in Braidwood. John Siney, then in Illinois on an organizing trip for the Miners' National Association, counseled patience, compromise and arbitration.²⁵ Committees of miners chosen to consult with company officials, however, met with no success. When they called at the Chicago residence of James Walker, the president of the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company, he was out of

23. To the Miners of the Chicago, Wilmington, and Vermillion Coal Company, n.d., enclosed in M. Dando to the editor, *ibid.*, June 6, 1874. See also the *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874 and the *Chicago Tribune*, June 22 1874.

24. M. Dando to the editor, June 6, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 13, 1874; *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

25. *Ibid.*; M. Dando to the editor, June 10, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

town.²⁶ A conference with Alanson L. Sweet, the company's general superintendent, who also lived in Chicago, disappointed the miners. Sweet rejected their offer to arbitrate the dispute and instead recommended a blanket wage reduction of twenty-five cents a ton. According to the *Chicago Times*, Sweet showed "a haughty indifference as to whether the mines 'run' or not."²⁷

The closing of the mines as well as Sweet's uncompromising attitude angered the miners, and they withdrew their offer. Even though Daniel McLaughlin warned them that a walkout would last five or six months because the operators would not settle until the winter trade resumed, on June 9 the miners overwhelmingly voted to "strike."²⁸ A local reporter sensed their irritation and warned that the "strike" would be "one of the stubbornest" that had "ever taken place in this State amongst coalminers."²⁹ McLaughlin blamed the entire difficulty on the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion company and charged that it had "forced" the two smaller firms to support it.

The miners could not have received "worse treatment in the old country," he said. "The Wilmington fellows are right up and down monopolists. . . . They treated us with silent contempt." The miners, McLaughlin concluded, "might as well lie idle as work for starvation wages."³⁰

Believing that the depression worked to their advantage and would quickly wear down the miners, the operators

26. *Chicago Times*, June 4 and 28, 1874.

27. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1874. See also Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 10, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

28. Details on the reaction of the miners appear in *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874; Merchant, Braidwood, to the editor, June 12, 1874, *Chicago Times*, June 15, 1874; *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874; *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

29. Braidwood dispatch, *Chicago Tribune*, June 17, 1874.

30. Interview with Daniel McLaughlin, *ibid.*, June 22, 1874.

rejected several offers of compromise.³¹ A plea for arbitration in the conservative *Chicago Tribune* met with no response from them.³² A Mr. E. Hall, a minor official of the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm, told a *Tribune* reporter:

Hall: If we propose new terms, they shall be even lower.

Reporter: That doesn't look like a spirit of conciliation, Mr. Hall.

Hall: Do the miners want the Company to break itself in order to pay them larger rates?

Reporter: They say they can't live on the prices you offer.

Hall: That is all gammon. They can but they want too much.³³

At one point, when Superintendent Sweet offered a twenty-cent reduction for digging coal, McLaughlin said the men would accept it if the rate rose five cents when the winter trade resumed. Sweet turned him down.³⁴ After Sweet complained that excessively high wages made it impossible for Braidwood coal to meet the Chicago market price, McLaughlin wrote the *Chicago Tribune*: "Let him show us the facts, and we will give him the prices that will enable him to sell as cheaply as any other." Sweet remained silent.³⁵ At the same time, he successfully restrained the smaller operators and kept them in line. Alexander Crombie, for example, said his company favored "any rational arrangement" but was helpless because Sweet was "pretty obstinate."³⁶

Soon after the miners "struck," the Chicago, Wilmington

31. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 10, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874; interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874; D. McLaughlin to the editor, n.d., *ibid.*, July 31, 1874.

32. Editorial, *ibid.*, June 22, 1874.

33. Interview with E. Hall, *ibid.*

34. *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874; A. L. Sweet to the editor, n.d., *Chicago Tribune*, June 30, 1874; D. McLaughlin to the editor, *ibid.*, July 31, 1874.

35. A. L. Sweet to the editor, *ibid.*, June 30, 1874 and D. McLaughlin to the editor, *ibid.*, July 31, 1874.

36. Interview with A. Crombie, *ibid.*, June 22, 1874.

and Vermillion firm began bringing in new hands. Thousands of Illinois and Indiana miners were without jobs, and Sweet made "strong efforts to induce workingmen from other localities to . . . fill the places of the strikers."³⁷ He also contacted certain Chicago private labor contracting agencies which he thought might supply workers from among the many Chicago unemployed.³⁸ Sweet did recruit a number of unskilled laborers, most of whom were Scandinavian immigrants. None were miners. Not only were they unaware of the dispute and unfamiliar with the strictures against "black-legging" printed in the *Chicago Workingman's Advocate*, but they were enticed by the promise of high wages.³⁹ Three days after the "strike" began, sixty-five Chicago workers arrived in Braidwood.⁴⁰ More came two weeks later, and from then on a small number arrived daily until the end of July, when the number increased sharply.⁴¹

In the meantime, anticipating trouble in putting the new men to work, the operators also brought special "police" to Braidwood. Even before the miners voted to hold out, the

37. Observer, Braidwood, to the editor, July 11, 1874, *ibid.*, July 15, 1874.

38. The function of the Chicago labor contracting bureaus is well described in Charlotte Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1860-1885* (Cambridge, 1957), 78, 80, 89-94. The Erickson study, however, makes no mention of the Braidwood incident.

39. The new hands were promised \$1.50 a day plus board or \$2.25 a day without board. Details of this arrangement are found in the *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874. In Chicago the *Workingman's Advocate* publicized the Braidwood strike and advised its readers not to go there. "Don't be deceived by the specious inducements of your oppressors," wrote the Chicago labor weekly. "They are of their father the devil. . . . There is no man — no apology for a man — who can go there and take the bread out of the mouths of honest, hardworking, law-abiding citizens under the present conditions." *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874. See also Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, Aug. 5, 1874, *ibid.*, Aug. 8-15, 1874.

40. Merchant, Braidwood, to the editor, June 12, 1874, *Chicago Times*, June 15, 1874 and Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

41. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 1, 15, 21, 29, 1874, *ibid.*, June 27-July 4, July 11-18, July 25, Aug. 1, 1874. See also the *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm hired twenty armed employees of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency in Chicago. Allan J. Pinkerton accompanied them to Braidwood.⁴² The day after the walkout started, an old boardinghouse owned by the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion company mysteriously burned to the ground.⁴³ The Braidwood deputy sheriff absolved the miners, who, in turn, accused the operators of starting the fire "so that they might excite the country" against them.⁴⁴ The operators, on the other hand, blamed the miners and hastily hired thirty additional Pinkerton men, making a total of fifty in all. Each guard, armed with either a rifle or a musket, was paid four dollars a day and board.⁴⁵

The miners realized that they had to neutralize the effect of the company's imported labor force and special "police" in order to gain a victory. At first, they sent committees to neighboring mining towns to tell of the dispute and to collect funds. But they received so little material help outside of Braidwood that they set up a local relief committee made up of persons from eight different ethnic groups.⁴⁶ As soon as the new workers arrived, McLaughlin had committees of miners call on them and explain the dispute. "We ask the

42. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

43. Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

44. Interviews with D. McLaughlin and others, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

45. *Ibid.*; Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874; interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Times*, July 28, 29, 1874; Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

46. *Ibid.*; resolutions of the Streator, Illinois, miners on the Braidwood strike, n.d., *ibid.*, Sept. 19-26, 1874; interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874; John Siney and John James, Circular to the Officers and Members of the Miners' National Association, Sept. 7, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 19-26, 1874.

skilled miners not to work," he told a reporter. "As to green hands, we are glad to see them go to work for we know they are . . . a positive detriment to the company."⁴⁷ A committee of resident miners met with the first sixty-five men the day after they arrived, and all but three agreed to return to Chicago. Since they lacked funds, the miners and other local residents paid their rail fare. As they boarded a Chicago-bound train, there was "cheering and hurraing from a thousand lips."⁴⁸ During the early weeks of the dispute, the union men convinced most of the new laborers to leave Braidwood.⁴⁹ In mid-July, one shaft that usually used two hundred men had no more than nine or ten workers. At the end of July, only 102 men worked in all the mines.⁵⁰ Not a single resident miner, furthermore, had returned to work.⁵¹

The disaffected miners also met the challenge of the Pinkerton "police." Private police were used rarely in the Illinois coal fields in these years. "The Wilmington Company," McLaughlin explained, "got up a 'hurrah,' just as if we were a lot of cut-throats, in order to get public sympathy with them and have a pretext for putting police over us."⁵² Anxious to limit the use of Pinkerton's men, the miners appointed a seventy-two-man committee to prevent violence and protect company property. They offered its services to

47. Interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

48. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874; *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874; Merchant, Braidwood, to the editor, June 12, 1874, *ibid.*, June 15, 1874.

49. Exact figures on how many men arrived in Braidwood and how many thereafter left appear in Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 1, 13, 21, 29, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 27-July 4, July 11-18, 25, Aug. 1, 1874.

50. Observer, Braidwood, to the editor, July 11, 1874, *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1874. See also the *Chicago Times*, July 25, 1874.

51. John Siney and John James, Circular to the Officers and Members of the Miners' National Association, Sept. 7, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 19-26, 1874.

52. Interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

the mayor and sheriff, who, in turn, swore in twelve miners as special deputies.⁵³ With only one exception, furthermore, the miners behaved in a quiet and orderly manner. Braidwood, noted a reporter, looked "as if it were tenanted by Quakers." Alexander Crombie, moreover, insisted that the miners "behaved admirably, all things considered." No watchmen guarded his shafts. The miners, he maintained, "will not harm anything. . . . I would not be afraid to trust them any time." A number of local businessmen and non-miners also testified to the peaceful behavior of the resident miners.⁵⁴

The single incident which marred the orderly record of the miners occurred on July 7, when the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm induced two pit bosses and two roadsmen to repair a mine shaft. After being assured that they would not dig coal or "in any way . . . teach or assist the newcomers in mining," they started work. Allan Pinkerton guarded them. During the day, a crowd, made up mostly of the wives of miners, surrounded the shaft and bitterly condemned the men. "On that evening," according to one report, "the women of the coal city turned out with an American flag and martial music, and, parading the streets, expressed their indignation and disgust with the quartette in question." Two of the men were beaten, and the angered women struck Pinkerton several times. "Using the butt of his revolver and discharging one chamber," Pinkerton fought back against the women, whom the Chicago newspapers labeled "the amazon mob" and the "modern 'Florence

53. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 29, 1874. See also Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

54. Interviews with A. Crombie, William Mooney, and unnamed Braidwood businessmen, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

Nightingales' of the coal city." Local police hastily dispersed the women and arrested several of them.⁵⁵ Except for this melee the miners and their supporters committed no other illegal or violent acts.

Braidwood's tiny "middle class" played a crucial role in the dispute between the operators and the miners. Time and again, the behavior of this small group of businessmen, store-keepers, and public officials strengthened the hand of the miners. According to one report, local businessmen and tavern owners "all back[ed] the miners." They denied operator-inspired reports that the miners were an irresponsible and dangerous "mob." A prominent citizen condemned the coal companies for creating "excitement so as to crush the miners" and declared that "public sympathy" was "entirely" with the workers. Braidwood's mayor made the same point. "In fact," a special correspondent told readers of the *Chicago Tribune*, "Braidwood is with the strikers root and branch."⁵⁶

Unconvinced by the operators' complaints that the miners favored "violence" and apparently sympathetic toward the miners, Braidwood's publicly elected officials weakened the power of the coal firms in many ways. They allowed the miners to talk freely with the workers who came in from Chicago, and their attitude toward the special "police" was nothing less than hostile. The operators wanted Pinkerton and his men appointed "special deputies" and also made "merchant police" with power to arrest persons trespassing on company properties, but the mayor and the sheriff turned

55. Reports of this incident are contradictory. See, for example, Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 13, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, July 11-18, 1874; *Chicago Times*, July 8, 9, 28, 1874; X, Braidwood, to the editor, July 16, 1874, *Chicago Tribune*, July 20, 1874; Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

56. The entire status of public opinion in Braidwood is revealingly discussed in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

down both requests.⁵⁷ Instead, as has been seen, they deputized resident miners. Mayor L. C. Goodrich would not permit the Pinkerton men to parade in the streets, and the sheriff ordered them to surrender their rifles and muskets,⁵⁸ saying that he did not propose "to have a lot of strangers dragooning a quiet town with deadly weapons in their hands." The sheriff said he feared the miners "a good deal less than . . . the Chicago watchmen."⁵⁹ Goodrich supported the sheriff and insisted that the "good citizens" of Braidwood would protect company properties. If necessary, he added, he would deputize more miners.⁶⁰ "The miners," Goodrich wrote to the *Chicago Times* in late July, a month and a half after the dispute had started, ". . . have to a remarkable degree preserved the peace, and order has been maintained in our midst."⁶¹

When the operators still sought to use their special Chicago "police" and to use the remnants of the imported labor force in the mines, they faced other troubles. Local judges and police officials enforced the law more rigorously against the operators and their men than against the resident miners. In one instance, two new workers who got into a fight one Sunday were arrested for violating the local Sabbath law and fined \$50 and court costs. Unable to pay the fine, they were put to work on the town streets.⁶² Another time, a

57. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874 and Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

58. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

59. Interview with the sheriff, *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1874.

60. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

61. Mayor L. C. Goodrich, Braidwood, to the editor, July 21, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 23, 1874.

62. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, June 16, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, June 20, 1874.

new worker struck a miner, who also was a special deputy, and was fined \$10 and court costs.⁶³ In a number of other instances, the Pinkerton men were arrested and fined "for pushing intruders off the private property they were employed to guard."⁶⁴ One of them, jailed for hitting an elderly woman with a club, was charged with "murderous intent," found guilty and fined \$100 and court costs.⁶⁵ A company watchman named Michael Budd was arrested four times. Twice he was jailed for "insulting" townspeople. The third time, for holding a revolver to the face of an Italian miner, he was ordered to post a \$200 bond to keep the peace. After being jailed for the fourth time, Budd "ran away like a hired man."⁶⁶

Frustrated by the public authorities and unable to keep many new workers on the job, the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm tried another approach in mid-July. Twenty-five Chicago workers, mostly Danish and Norwegian immigrants, arrived in Braidwood in an unusual manner. After their train stopped in the depot, their car was shunted off to a side track and coupled onto a switch engine that took them directly to the mine. A few union men met them there and induced seven of them to leave the city. According to one of the miners, the defectors said that "when they came to the depot and saw so many idle men around they wished to get out, but . . . the company . . . had the doors locked, and told the men that they could not get out, and that if they did . . . the men of this place would kill them." "You

63. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 21, 1874, *ibid.*, July 25, 1874.

64. Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

65. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 21, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, July 25, 1874.

66. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 29, 1874, *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1874 and interview with D. McLauhglin, *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

see what the company is doing," the miner complained, "bringing men under false pretences [*sic*], and locking them in the cars . . . what I call kidnapping."⁶⁷

Unable to convert the mayor and the local police authorities to their side, the coal operators finally turned for help to the state government. The Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company urged Governor John Beveridge to intervene in the dispute, and he sent the head of the Illinois militia, Adjutant General E. L. Higgins, to Braidwood to judge whether or not troops were needed there.⁶⁸ Higgins arrived on July 13. Three days later, eight new workers climbed out of a closed box car at the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm's G shaft. Higgins was on hand and prevented the union men from talking with them. Higgins' sympathies were apparent from the time of his arrival, for he was the guest of that company's superintendent. Although he asked Mayor Goodrich to meet him in the company office, he "never went to see the officers of the city . . . to gain an unprejudiced account of the strike."⁶⁹ Nor did Higgins even try to speak with the union miners and their leaders. "He seemed to act as if in the pay of the companies," McLaughlin noted, "and his mission appeared to be to assist in running in 'blacklegs' as we call them."⁷⁰ At the same time, the operators reported that Higgins' "presence has been more valuable than a company of soldiers as the miners know he represents state authority."⁷¹

67. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 15, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, July 11-18, 1874.

68. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 13, 1874, *ibid.*, and Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

69. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 21, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, July 25, 1874.

70. Interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

71. Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *ibid.*, July 29, 1874.

In the end, however, Higgins was of little help to the coal companies. He left Braidwood on July 16 but returned three days later on a train that carried forty-two more workers, again mostly Danish and Norwegian immigrants. Twenty-seven of them went directly to the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion company's G shaft, and the rest went to the Diamond Mines. The next day, seven of the G shaft's new men quit, and the fifteen Diamond Mines laborers all "skedad-dled" after eating breakfast with the superintendent. Only twenty of the forty-two workers stayed on.⁷²

The union miners and, more important, the town officials berated Higgins for his activities. The miners called him "Agitating General Higgins." "If this is what the military forces and officers are kept for," a miner wrote, "it is high time . . . such men [were] struck off the State Government payroll and placed where they belong."⁷³ Mayor Goodrich reminded Higgins that neither the Braidwood nor the Will County authorities had asked for state interference and assured him that the Will County sheriff would "render . . . any assistance necessary" to put down violence. In a letter to the *Chicago Times*, Goodrich accused Higgins of "giving orders that no man should speak with or to the men who come for employment." "The citizens of this city," Goodrich went on, "were not aware that martial law had been proclaimed or an embargo placed upon their speech." Goodrich was not sure whether Higgins had come to Braidwood "in his official capacity or as an agent of the coal company."⁷⁴

Unable to demoralize the miners, the operators began

72. Interview with D. McLaughlin, *ibid.*, July 28, 1874 and Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 21, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, July 25, 1874.

73. *Ibid.*

74. L. C. Goodrich to the editor, July 21, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 25, 1874.

weakening as the dispute dragged into August. The conflict was expensive for the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company. According to one estimate, it cost the firm \$500 a day; a miner insisted that the company was losing between ten and twenty thousand dollars a month.⁷⁵ The operators, furthermore, found their new workers unsatisfactory. Only a small number of the two or three hundred new men were miners. Of those who remained, many were unskilled Chicago day laborers, who did poorly in the mines.⁷⁶ A few mine shafts, therefore, fell into serious disrepair.⁷⁷ Some of the new workers left Braidwood and others threatened to pull out because the operators fed them poorer food and treated them more harshly as the conflict dragged on.⁷⁸

The union men grew more optimistic. The winter trade was coming, and they knew the operators would have to start production if they wanted to hold on to the already shrunken Chicago market. "If we can keep all practical men out," a miner explained, "we will be able . . . to teach that company a lesson they will not forget as long as they are a company." The Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm's managers would soon learn their "folly and come to look upon . . . workmen not as slaves but as free men that have rights they are bound to respect."⁷⁹ The union miners pleaded with Chicago's Scandinavian community leaders to "stop their countrymen from injuring us."⁸⁰ In Chicago, meanwhile, the *Workingman's Advocate* vigorously sup-

75. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, Aug. 5, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Aug. 8-15, 1874 and *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

76. *Ibid.* and Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, July 29, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Aug. 1, 1874.

77. Interview with D. McLaughlin, *Chicago Times*, July 28, 1874.

78. *Ibid.*

79. M. D[ando], Braidwood, to the editor, Aug. 26, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Aug. 22-29, 1874.

80. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, Aug. 5, 1874, *ibid.*, Aug. 8-15, 1874.

ported the union men and compared them to ancient Romans and their wives to the "Spartan mother, who told her boy to come home 'victorious or a corpse.'"⁸¹ Even though the miners and their families suffered much privation, in late August they unanimously resolved to stay out until the operators gave in.⁸²

Soon thereafter, the two smaller Braidwood coal companies capitulated, and, finally, fourteen weeks after the dispute had started, the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion firm also surrendered. Under the settlement, the wage rate for digging coal fell slightly, but the companies did their own "pushing."⁸³ Before they resumed work, the miners drew a final concession from the operators. They insisted that all the remaining new workers leave the city, and, in mid-September, Sweet shipped off the last of his Chicago men.⁸⁴ "Everything was carried on so smoothly," a miner wrote, ". . . that we can almost say it was a pleasure to be in the strike."⁸⁵

Midwestern union miners celebrated the Braidwood victory. In Streator, a small mining town in La Salle County, the miners complimented the Braidwood men for having defeated "a wealthy, powerful, and hitherto invincible opponent" and for having "achieved a victory unparalleled in the annals of labor in the West."⁸⁶ John James and John Siney, leaders of the Miners' National Association, said that

81. The Braidwood Struggle, *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1874.

82. J. James, Mass Meeting at Braidwood, *ibid.*, Aug. 22-29, 1874.

83. M. D[ando], Braidwood, to the editor, Aug. 26, 1874, *ibid.*, Aug. 22-29, 1874; untitled editorial note, *ibid.*, Sept. 5-12, 1874; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1874.

84. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, Sept. 9, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 5-12, 1874; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 11, 1874.

85. Miner, Braidwood, to the editor, Sept. 9, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 5-12, 1874.

86. Resolutions of the Streator branch of the Miners' National Association, n.d., *ibid.*, Sept. 19-26, 1874.

the success of the Braidwood miners proved that men of different nationalities could "fraternize and work together for the general good when all are justly treated." "Let those, who become despondent because the foreign speaking people and the negroes in their regions cannot be made to join hands in the work of raising themselves in the social scale," James and Siney declared, "take courage from the Braidwood encounter."⁸⁷

The events in Braidwood had even greater importance because of the questions they raised about social relations and attitudes toward industrialization in small towns after the Civil War. The outcome of the dispute would undoubtedly have been different had the mayor, sheriff, police officials and business people of Braidwood not sided with the union miners. What explained their behavior and outlook? Much has been made of the widespread acceptance of entrepreneurship in nineteenth-century America. What must be emphasized, however, is the distinction between entrepreneurs in commerce and trade and those in industrial manufacturing. Much of the antipathy toward industrialists in the 1870's came from persons who accepted entrepreneurship, but, for one reason or another, were unwilling to go along with the *social* consequences of industrial enterprise and with the decisions industrialists made to maintain their competitive position and to cheapen and rationalize productive methods. The tiny Braidwood middle class was able to judge the dispute between the miners and the operators from first-hand experience. They knew the workers and had everyday contact with them. The owners of the coal companies, on the other hand, lived in other cities and had no relationship

87. J. James and J. Siney, Circular to the Officers and Members of the Miners' National Association, Sept. 7, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 19-26, 1874.

with them. When the operators brought in the Pinkerton men from Chicago and even the state adjutant general from Springfield, the nonparticipants in Braidwood could measure these actions against the truth of their direct experience.

They, furthermore, resented these measures as unnecessary "outside" interference in "local" matters. Added to these considerations was the fact that the miners formed a political majority in Braidwood. Local politicians needed their support to win elections. It was not surprising, then, that a company spokesman bitterly assailed the Braidwood mayor and other public officials for their curious interpretation of "peace, order, and freedom."⁸⁸

In spite of the prolonged severity of the 1873 depression, the Braidwood union lasted until the fall of 1877.⁸⁹ The miners supported and elected a reform ticket in the 1874 fall election. Mayor Goodrich was re-elected, and the miners helped send Alexander Campbell, the famed Greenback agitator, to the national Congress.⁹⁰ The union prospered. In December, 1874 it had four English-speaking lodges as well as French, German, Bohemian and Italian lodges. The various nationalities worked together amicably.⁹¹ Six months later, the miners prevented the operators from setting up company stores in Braidwood.⁹² Efforts to "blacklist" Daniel

88. Carbon, Braidwood, to the editor, July 27, 1874, *Chicago Times*, July 29, 1874.

89. Reports that deal with the severity of the depression in Braidwood include M. D., Braidwood, to the editor, Nov. 12, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Nov. 14-21, 1874; M. Dando, Braidwood, to the editor, Dec. 4, 1874, *ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1874; M., Braidwood, to the editor, n.d., *Miners' National Record*, I (Nov., 1874): 15; and D., Braidwood, to the editor, n.d., *ibid.*, I (Feb., 1875): 61.

90. M. D., Braidwood, to the editor, Nov. 12, 1874, *Workingman's Advocate*, Nov. 14-21, 1874.

91. *Miners' National Record*, I (Dec., 1874): 22.

92. *Ibid.*, I (June, 1875): 139.

McLaughlin at this time also failed.⁹³ In 1877, McLaughlin, the president of the local union, was elected mayor. Miners were also chosen as aldermen, and the police magistrate was a union man, too.⁹⁴ The use of several regiments of the state militia along with Negro workers from Kentucky and West Virginia finally weakened the union in the summer and fall of 1877, but those events are part of another chapter in the history of the Illinois coal miners.⁹⁵

93. *Workingman's Advocate*, June 19, July 24, 1875.

94. *Braidwood Phoenix*, n.d., reprinted in the *Workingman's Advocate*, May 5, 1877.

95. See, for example, *Chicago Tribune*, March 27, April 16, 17, 21, 24, 30, 1877; Frank Lofty and others, Braidwood, to the editor, April 22, 1877, *Workingman's Advocate*, May 5, 1877; *Labor Standard*, June 30, 1877; *Chicago Times*, July 28, 29, 30, 1877; Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Indianapolis, 1959), 292-94.

CARL G. HODGES

The Kidnaped Cornerstone

Former newspaperman Carl G. Hodges is now supervisor of the Illinois Departmental Information Service in Springfield — the public relations office for all departments, boards and commissions under the governor. By avocation — and a profitable one for him — he is a mystery story writer and chairman of the publicity committee (without profit) of the Illinois State Historical Society.

FOR NEARLY A hundred years, by word of mouth and on the printed page, stories about the “disappearance” of a most unlikely object have been bruited about. That object is the two-ton cornerstone of the Illinois State Capitol in Springfield, laid with appropriate ceremonies on the afternoon of October 5, 1868.

The stories charged that members of the Masonic fraternity had arranged the disappearance because they quailed at the thought of posterity’s finding the name of Robert G. Ingersoll chiseled on the face of the stone. At the time the cornerstone was laid Ingersoll was the attorney general of the state, but he was even then becoming a famous orator and (according to his enemies) an infamous agnostic.

Other stories were that the original cornerstone developed some cracks two years after it was laid and that the contractors, without fanfare, substituted for it a plain and unlettered stone, on which they agreed to chisel the legends borne by the original. Unfortunately, the contractors never got around to fulfilling their promise, and the unlettered cornerstone,

ninety years later, still supports the huge bulk of the Illinois State Capitol.

On July 18, 1944, more than seventy-five years after it had "disappeared," the original cornerstone was found resting comfortably three feet underground and ten feet in front of its unlettered substitute. The then Secretary of State, Richard Yates Rowe, had the stone disinterred and its cracks cemented, and it now sits proudly beside its stand-in, probably the only cornerstone in the world without a building to support.

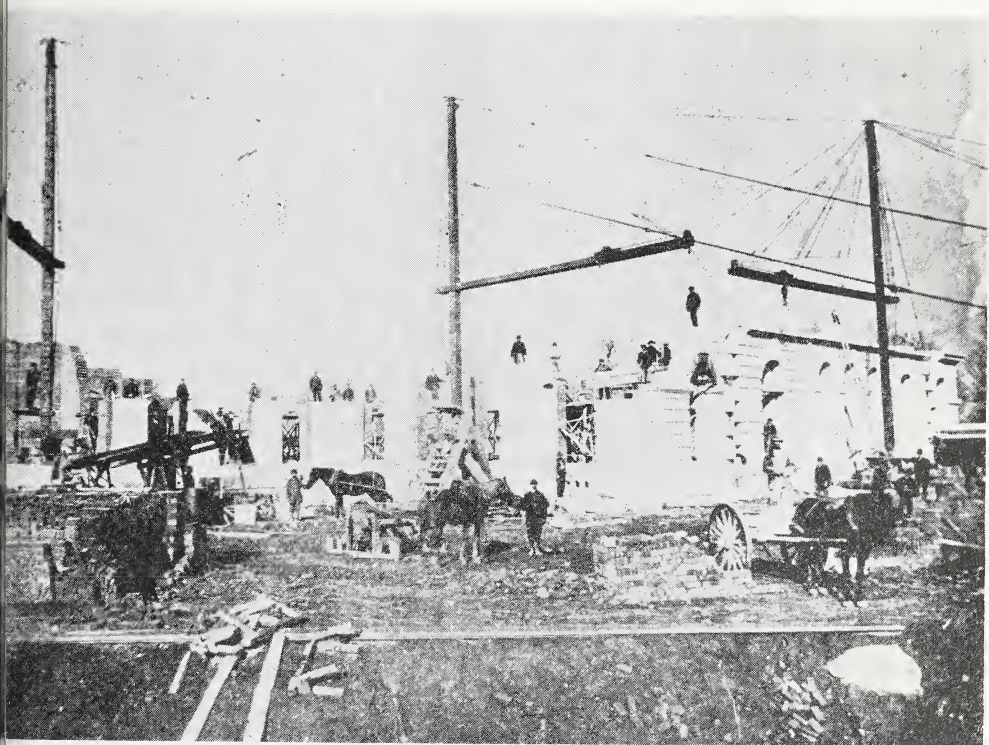
Was the "disappearance" of the cornerstone myth or mystery? A look into the facts could make it history.

The early fall of 1868 was a busy season in Illinois, especially among the politicians. It was a presidential year and a year of statewide elections, and all public political events drew big crowds. The sixteenth Illinois State Fair was held that year in Quincy from September 21 through the twenty-sixth; most of the politicians showed up for oratory and fence-mending. And most of them, including the candidate for President of the United States, U. S. Grant, showed up in Springfield for the big event of the year, the laying of the cornerstone of the new State Capitol, being erected at the foot of Second and Market (now Capitol Avenue). General Grant arrived from St. Louis early on cornerstone-laying day — October 5 — and stayed at the home of Colonel Jesse K. Dubois. He left for Chicago the same night on the 8:55 train.

The *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield published a complete order of march and other details of the day's activities: "The ceremonies which have been arranged for the laying of the corner stone of the new State House to-day promise to be of a more imposing character than any of a similar



The Illinois State Capitol under construction — this picture and the one below were taken about September 1, 1868, or a month before the cornerstone was laid.



Men and horses, it seems, supplied the power to build the Capitol — note the horse-drawn wagons, carts and railroad cars and the three man-and-horse-operated gins with their huge wooden booms.

nature that have ever taken place in the West. The affair will be conducted under the auspices and direction of the Masons of the State."

The order of march was very specific, and the parade was divided into four sections. In the first section were the Zouaves, the Board of Statehouse Commissioners, the construction superintendent and city and county officers. Next in order came state and judicial officials, senators and representatives in Congress, members of the General Assembly and various members of the press. Section three consisted of local firemen and their apparatus, and the fourth and largest section was made up of marchers from the Masonic fraternity.

The parade was so large, in fact, that marshals of each of the four sections wore different colored sashes to enable marchers to search out their proper places in the ranks. Major John S. Bradford, grand marshal, wore a yellow sash; the marshals of sections one, two and three wore red sashes; marshals and aides in the fourth section wore Knights Templar uniforms; and all others wore blue.

The Toledo, Wabash and Western Railroad ran a special train from Quincy and Jacksonville to Springfield. It left Quincy at 4 A.M., Jacksonville at 7:38 A.M. and arrived in the capital at 9:20 A.M. Another special from Danville and intermediate points — leaving Danville at 5:15 A.M., Homer at 6:10, Tolono at 7, Bement at 7:48, Decatur at 8:45, Illiopolis at 9:30 — arrived in Springfield at 10:30 A.M. A trainload of participants arrived on the Chicago and Alton from the Cook County metropolis at 10:20 A.M. The *Journal* also carried a description of the cornerstone itself:

The work of getting out the corner stone was completed on Saturday night [October 3]. It is a very handsome specimen of lime

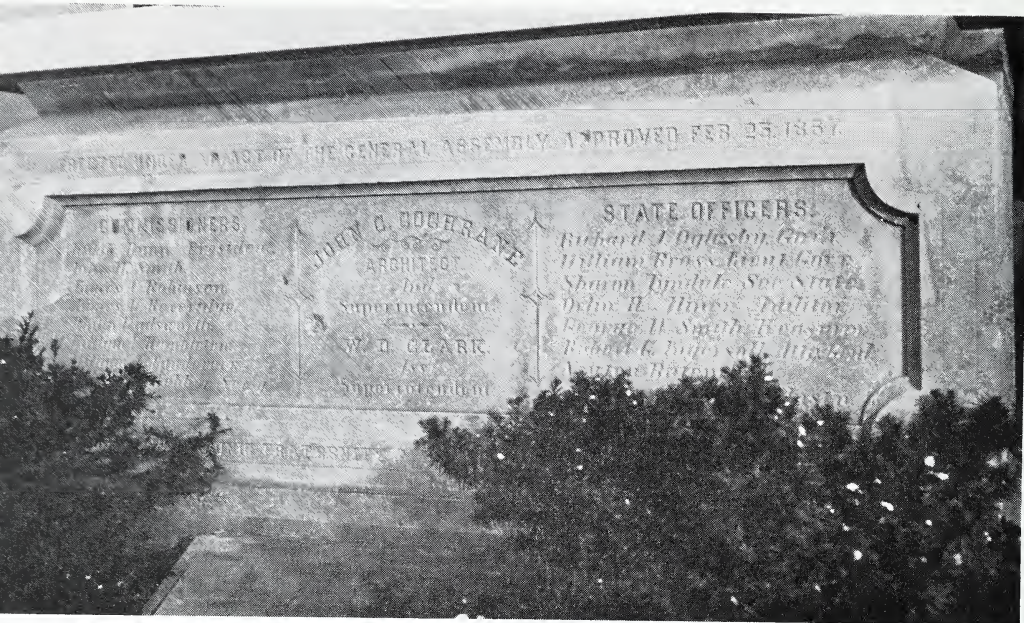
stone from the Hamilton [Illinois?] quarry. It is eight feet, three inches long, four feet wide and three feet high. The outer surface has a sunken pannel. In one side of this are cut the names of the State House Commissioners; on the other the names of the State officers [this is the list that included Attorney General Robert G. Ingersoll] and in the center the names of the architect and the superintendent of the building. On the upper side of the pannel are cut the words — “Directed under an act of the General Assembly, approved Feb. 25, 1867.” On the lower side of the pannel are cut the words — “Laid by the Masonic Fraternity A.D. 1868, A.L. 5868, G.R. Gorin, G.M.” The stone was chiseled by Messrs. D. M. Houghton, W. H. Houlen and T. Driscoll, and reflects great credit upon them as superior workmen.

The crowds which had converged on Springfield by train were augmented by other thousands of persons closer to the capital who came by wagon, by stage and on horseback. Also, by order of the school board, all schools were closed for the day. The city was in a gala mood somewhat heightened by drolleries and high jinks committed by the visiting Masons, who were headquartering in the Hotel Leland.

The parade took several hours to reach its destination, and it was after two o'clock before the cornerstone was put in place with the traditional ceremonies of the Masons; Judge John Dean Caton of Ottawa was the principal speaker for the occasion.

That evening a banquet was held at the Springfield Skating Rink, located at the corner of Market (Capitol Avenue) and Walnut streets. General John A. McClermand was the master of ceremonies, and more than one thousand guests were present for the dinner and the long program which followed.

That same evening, according to a notice printed in the *Illinois State Journal* of October 6, the masters, past masters and representatives of the Masonic Grand Lodge from Chi-



The cornerstone that “disappeared” now rests on a base near the northeast corner of the Capitol. The name of Robert G. Ingersoll is number six on the list of state officers at the right.

cago, at a meeting in Room 14 at the Leland, passed a resolution thanking city and county officials for entertaining them so royally. In the resolution there was no hint that they objected to Ingersoll’s name on the cornerstone which they had that day put in place.

For nearly a hundred years now, however, the story has persisted that on the following morning (October 6) when workmen appeared at the Capitol to begin their labors, the cornerstone was gone. The stories (reprinted several times in national magazines) go on to relate that the Masons were angered at the presence of Ingersoll’s name on the stone and had arranged to have it “spirited” away. How one goes about “spiriting” away a two-ton object was never explained in the tales. These stories almost always implied that the newspapers knew the truth but withheld the facts and that the Masons responsible for the “kidnaping” of the corner-

stone had sworn a terrible oath never to reveal its whereabouts. These stories often hinted that diligent search had been made for the missing masonry, without result.

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Search considerably less than diligent finally gave a clue to what had happened to the Capitol cornerstone. In going through files of the *Illinois State Journal*, the following item was found in the issue of November 23, 1870, two years after the so-called disappearance:

Our readers will remember that the corner stone . . . was laid last fall [obviously a reporter's error] . . . by the Masonic Order. . . . owing to the splits and cracks which opened through it, it was found to be unworthy to be retained or built upon. Accordingly, it was, a few days ago, removed from the wall and buried in the ground in front of the corner; and on yesterday [November 22] a new corner-stone was placed in position. No ceremonies whatever took place on the occasion, the only persons present being Col. [James H.] Beveridge, one of the Commissioners, the contractors, and a few curious citizens. The tin box containing coins, papers, etc., which had been deposited with the former stone, was securely sunk in the new one, while various additional contributions were made by those present.

The news item went on to say, "No inscription has yet been placed upon it, but whether the Commissioners intend having this done, or to leave the matter with the General Assembly, we are not advised."

This story on the general progress of the construction went on to say that the new cornerstone was from the penitentiary quarries at Joliet, that the basement walls of the Capitol were about twenty feet high, and that Barnard and Gowan were the contractors and Captain Napier the superintendent of contractors.

Believers in the old tale that the "disappearance" of the original cornerstone was caused by hatred of Ingersoll charged that the story in the 1870 *Journal* was nothing but

an alibi. No evidence had been found that the original cornerstone was cracked or unfit for use, *except* for the small item in the *Illinois State Journal*, and that story, they maintained, had probably been "planted."

Myth or mystery? That was still the question on July 18, 1944 when the original cornerstone of the Illinois State Capitol was found about three feet underground and ten feet in front of the 1870 cornerstone. It was, according to the newspapers of 1944, "split rather badly." Richard Yates Rowe, then secretary of state, whose men had accidentally uncovered the cornerstone in remodeling near the east entrance to the Capitol, said that "if the stone is not too badly damaged, it will be placed on the state house lawn."

The stone was disinterred, its cracks cemented, and its surface sand-brushed to clean it. Properly capped, it now sits beside the unlettered substitute that has pinch-hit for so many years.

Has the discovery of the real cornerstone killed the stories about Robert G. Ingersoll and the hatred of him that led to the disappearance of the Capitol cornerstone? Did the 1870 *Journal* article on the reason for replacing the original stone solve the riddle?

The answer to both questions is no.

Those who thrilled to the original old wives' tale still cling to the story of the hatred of Robert G. Ingersoll by the Masons of Illinois as the reason for the disappearance of the original cornerstone. The *Illinois State Journal* story of November 23, 1870 represents no proof to them. "After all," they say, "if you were buried in the ground for seventy-five years you'd develop a few cracks, too."

JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR.

Chicago's Camp Douglas, 1861-1865

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IF YOU WERE to ask each of Chicago's busy motorists hurrying along the Outer Drive on the South Side what the monument just west of the Illinois Central Railroad at Thirty-fourth Street is supposed to represent, probably not one in a hundred could tell you that it was erected over the tomb of Stephen A. Douglas. Even fewer would know that the land around it was once Camp Douglas, mobilization center for volunteer soldiers during the Civil War and a prison camp for thousands of captured Confederates.

In April, 1861, shortly after the fall of Fort Sumter, President Abraham Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers. The regular army was not large, and it was decided that the individual states should be given quotas and asked to raise military units, which, after proper training, would be turned over to the federal government for muster into service as volunteer forces.

Governor Richard Yates, in filling the Illinois quota,

divided the state into military districts, with mobilization centers for each. The Northern Illinois Military District, composed of the twenty-four most northern counties in the state, was canvassed by the Illinois Adjutant General, A. C. Fuller, for a suitable mobilization center, and in September he determined on a site along Lake Michigan east of the United States Fairgrounds, about four miles from the Chicago courthouse. Stephen A. Douglas, late senator for Illinois, who had died early in June, had owned 160 acres of land at this point, forty-two acres of which — in open prairie — was made available by the Douglas estate. The land lay west of Cottage Grove Avenue, then the road to the village of Hyde Park, and just north of the grounds of the recently established Chicago University (not to be confused with the present University of Chicago, which came into existence some thirty years later). Part of the Douglas farm was reserved by the estate, primarily because the Senator had been buried there but partly because all the land was not needed for the camp site. At that time, the Illinois Central Railroad ran along the shore of the lake, on a wooden trestle, and farm land came down to the water's edge.

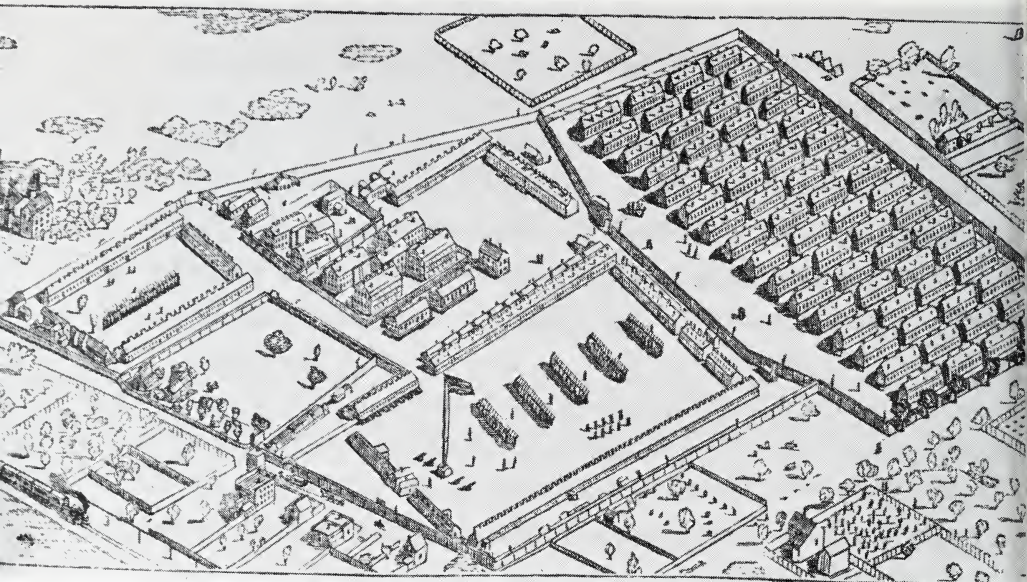
The Governor appointed Colonel Joseph H. Tucker to command the district and to construct barracks to house the trainees.¹ Colonel Tucker remained in command from the beginning of construction until February, 1862, when the last of the volunteers left for battle. Captain John Christopher, United States Army recruiting officer, then took over for the federal government, which assumed the construction costs, although the state had paid a few bills before he took charge.

1. Elias Colbert, *Chicago: Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Garden City* . . . (Chicago, 1868), 93.

The camp extended from Cottage Grove Avenue west to South Parkway and from Thirty-first to Thirty-sixth Street, north to south. The farmhouse of Henry Graves² on Cottage Grove near Thirty-third Street was responsible for a U-shaped deviation in the rectangular stockade constructed there. The main entrance to the camp was near the present Chicago street number 3212 Cottage Grove; the other gate was at the southern end, to the rear. East of this area were grounds used first for recruiting and training Union troops and later for housing paroled federal prisoners. In February, 1862 the fairgrounds to the west were acquired for the latter purpose but were used only temporarily.

By the end of the war Camp Douglas had three divisions: the eastern, near the lake, with post headquarters and parade ground, officers' quarters and barracks; the southern, with hospitals and offices; and the western, where the prisoners were housed. A tall observatory tower, opposite the main gate, and surrounded by fenced fields, gardens, trees and houses, faced the public road in front of the camp. The entrance, like that of an old castle, was guarded by six soldiers with fixed bayonets, who stood in front of a gatehouse leading to a broad open yard paved with loose sand. The yard alone occupied about twenty acres. Surrounding the camp and separating the various compounds within were three miles of fourteen-foot-high board fence. The yard fence was constantly patrolled by thirty sentries, each with a beat of 120 feet. On dark nights they operated immense reflecting lights for security purposes. Within the compounds were low railings or "deadlines" beyond which no prisoner could pass. Part of the yard was open space where prisoner

2. William Bross, *Biographical Sketch of the Late Gen. B. J. Sweet* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 11.



A bird's-eye view of Camp Douglas (from Our Young Folks magazine, April, 1861. This drawing differs in details from those in other contemporary publications and from some of the written descriptions — but the camp changed, too, from time to time).

squads gathered for political meetings and recreation.

Most of the camp was arranged with fifty-foot streets, rounded in the middle, with deep gutters on each side. Barracks were almost all one-story affairs, ninety by twenty-four feet, mounted on four-foot posts. Each barrack had two rooms and a kitchen and contained benches, a stove, and three-tiered bunks to care for 125 to 150 men. At the time the camp was dismantled there were 158 buildings: 40 company barracks, 64 prison barracks, 14 offices, a number of structures with quarters for officers, the post headquarters, the general hospital with four wings, the post hospital and the smallpox hospital (each with two wings), warehouses each for the quartermaster, the commissary and ordnance officers, a garrison guardhouse, a camp guardhouse and court-martial hall, a wash house, a dispensary, the camp bakery and the post church. Except for the original build-

ings, all else was constructed by the prisoners. Just outside the walls was the camp burial ground, which was abandoned before the war's end.

When building the camp in 1861, Tucker had proposed that a \$7,000 sewer run diagonally across the camp into the lake — but this expenditure was not approved by the state government. Later, the lack of a sewer and proper sanitation accounted for a tremendous amount of sickness and death, and, although eventually proper sewage disposal was developed, the cost was exceedingly high. Tucker had planned to accommodate eight thousand troops and two thousand horses, together with necessary storage facilities. As units were trained and began to leave, a new presidential call for volunteers and the arrival of the first prisoners on February 7, 1862 made expansion of the camp imperative, but plans for the exchange of prisoners halted the proposed enlargement. In the meantime, volunteer groups were quartered outside the stockade; tents could be seen all over the landscape.³

The first volunteer units arrived at Camp Douglas in September, 1861,⁴ and soon several regiments previously quartered in Chicago moved to the new site. The 9th Illinois Cavalry was on the grounds when the camp was set up. The 55th Infantry was the first unit to be mustered into federal service at the camp and was the first complete regiment to leave camp (on December 9). The 39th and 51st Infantry and the Mechanics' Fusileers were also among the first in camp. In all, about 25,000 troops were trained and thirty-one units sent out from Camp Douglas. Other infantry

3. Colbert, *Chicago*, 94, 99; Edmund Kirke, "Three Days at Camp Douglas," *Our Young Folks*, I (April-June, 1865): 252-60, 291-98, 357-60.

4. A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1884-1886), II: 302.

groups included the Rock Island regiment,⁵ the 19th, 23d, 24th, 42d, 44th, 45th, 53d, 56th, 57th, 58th, 60th, 65th or Scotch, 67th, 69th, 71st, 72d or 1st Board of Trade, 88th or 2d Board of Trade, 89th or Railroad, 3d Board of Trade, 90th or Irish Legion, 93d, 105th, and 113th or Van Ammen's. In addition there were the German Guides and Lynn Color Guards (infantry companies later merged into regiments), the 9th, 12th, and 13th Illinois cavalry regiments, and artillery units with such names as the First, Bouton's, Bolton's, Silversparre's, Phillips', Ottawa, Mercantile, Elgin and Board of Trade batteries.

By March 1, 1862, prisoners captured at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, had been divided between Camp Douglas and Camp Butler, near Springfield, and by July, Camp Douglas had received 7,850 of them. In the meantime, Tucker was relieved by Colonel James A. Mulligan, an officer who had been sent back to Chicago after the Battle of Lexington to reorganize the Irish Brigade as a three-year unit. Several three-months' regiments assumed the garrison duty.⁶ Tucker, now in command of the 69th, took over again in June,⁷ and remained in charge until the end of the year, when Brigadier General Jacob Ammen, an officer of extensive prison experience, arrived from Camp Dennison, Ohio.⁸ During the fall of 1862, about eight thousand United States troops who had been captured at Harpers Ferry and paroled by the Confederates were sent to Camp Douglas, supposedly on their way to the Indian frontier. They were under the supervision of Brigadier General Daniel Tyler, who ruled them with an

5. Bross, *B. J. Sweet*, 13-14; Colbert, *Chicago*, 94.

6. *Ibid.*, 93.

7. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. II, Vol. 4, pp. 91-92, 111.

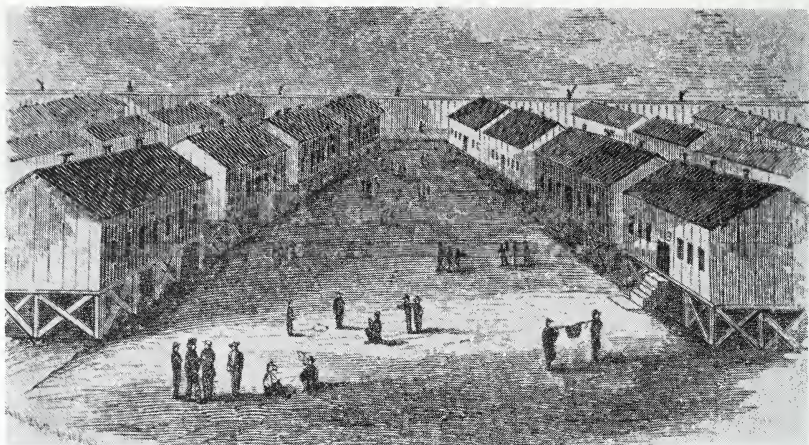
8. *Ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. 5, pp. 157, 476-77, 481.

iron hand. These men were dissatisfied, feeling that it was not right for them to be treated as prisoners and compelled to do garrison duty. Many attempted to escape, and some set fire to their barracks.⁹ When Secretary of War Simon Cameron ordered Tyler's severe disciplinary action relaxed, the incendiary fires stopped and the men became more manageable. The eight thousand men added to the regular prisoners greatly overcrowded the camp, and until the last of the paroled troops moved out in April, 1863, life at Camp Douglas was hectic.

When the first Confederate prisoners arrived in 1862, the weather was extremely cold. The southerners were lightly clad and unaccustomed to northern food. They suffered from idleness, homesickness and low spirits, and there was much sickness and death in the camp.

A typical day at Douglas was dull and monotonous. Reveille at sunrise was followed by breakfast half an hour later. Within an hour came roll call, the prisoners assembling in the streets in front of their barracks. Dinner was at noon. After roll call and dinner came the various details; in 1864 those on detail were paid ten cents daily if working as mechanics and five cents if working as laborers. The money could be used to buy stamps and tobacco. Those not on detail generally loafed, whittled or made gold rings, whistles and pipes. (There was considerable trading of such items.) At sunset the drums beat retreat, and the prisoners went back to quarters. There they could write, play euchre, read, talk or argue by candlelight. At nine o'clock, lights were put out. The monotony was varied on Sundays, when there was generally a full inspection, for which the men turned out with all

9. *Ibid.*, 110, 214; *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. 6, p. 634; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 304.



This drawing of "one of the streets" at Camp Douglas and the pictures that follow in this article, were made by a prisoner, Samuel B. Palmer of Knoxville, Tennessee. His sketches of the prison and prison life were used originally to illustrate a series of three articles, "Three Days at Camp Douglas," written by Edmund Kirke (pseudonym of James Roberts Gillmore) and published in Our Young Folks, April-June, 1865.

their possessions. Cleanliness was the subject of strict orders. If prisoners were found dirty, they were scrubbed, marched around in packing boxes marked "vermin" and jeered at by their comrades. Most of these early prisoners were quite young. Southern "poor whites," they were uneducated; only half of them could read or write. After inspection they had dinner and then attended church services conducted in the barracks by their own chaplains. Later in the war, the citizens of Chicago raised \$2,300, and Chaplain E. B. Tuttle, with the aid of the prisoners and guards, built a chapel for six hundred men near the main entrance. A church bell, made of silver and copper coins donated by guards and prisoners and cast at Springfield, Massachusetts, was presented by St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Chicago.¹⁰

The prisoners received little harsh treatment; some even

10. E. R. P. Shurly, "Historic Bell of St. Mark's," *The Diocese of Chicago*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 9, pp. 14, 18.

claimed that prison life was better than the life they had lived at home. If punishment became necessary, the culprit had to ride a rail or a wooden horse or stand on a pork barrel. Others, on occasion, had to draw a ball and chain around the camp, and a few dangerous prisoners were confined to a small dungeon on a diet of bread and water. Generally, however, the prisoners were treated humanely and frequently with kindness, but they knew they were prisoners, and this knowledge made them thoroughly discontented.

Local citizens wanted to see the prison, and, during the early part of the war, complimentary passes to Camp Douglas were given to well-known persons, many of whom had worked hard to raise funds for clothing and toiletries for the prisoners. Later, no visitors were allowed except for relatives of those seriously ill. Gifts and letters to prisoners were strictly censored. Letters into or out of camp could be only one page long and could deal only with personal affairs. Politics could not be mentioned, and each man could send only one letter a month.

As the food-rationing system improved, there was an excess in the commissary fund which was used to buy articles for the health and comfort of the prisoners. Such things as tables, furniture, cooking utensils, and bed ticks and straw were provided at reasonable rates by sutlers, who were licensed and taxed.¹¹

The prisoners wore butternut-colored clothes. In the winter they made overcoats of their brown or gray blankets by cutting holes in the middle of them and thrusting their heads through.

Rations served to the prisoners were about the same as those given to their guards and to Union soldiers throughout

11. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 3, pp. 549-50.

the army. The typical ration issued daily consisted of 14 ounces of beef or 10 ounces of pork, and 14 ounces of bread per man; and — per hundred men — 8 pounds of hominy or rice (or a similar amount of beans), 47 pounds of potatoes and 4 gallons of vinegar. Early in 1862 the camp used 50 barrels of beef and 60 barrels of flour each day, and the daily food bill averaged \$8,540. In addition to these rations, each man received issues of bacon, soap, candles, molasses, coffee, tea, sugar and pepper. Each man was supposed to cook his own food, although frequently messes were formed to save labor.¹²

Possibly the greatest problem, other than that of guarding the prisoners, was keeping them healthy. The table on page 47 reveals an appalling amount of sickness, disease and death. In February, 1863, in the coldest part of winter, 3,884 new prisoners arrived; 387, or approximately one in ten, died, and 623 were sick.¹³ Temperatures that month were reported as low as forty degrees below zero.

During the war a total of more than 18,000 prisoners was in Camp Douglas, the high point being 12,082 in December, 1864. Besides these, another 25,000 paroled Union soldiers were accommodated. Over 3,100 prisoners died and were buried in Chicago cemeteries. The high mortality rate was a direct result of the weakened and destitute condition of the prisoners when they arrived at camp. Their own surgeons cared for them, but often a heavy burden was placed on Union doctors when Confederate physicians were released and sent south. In July, 1862, for example, twenty-two Confederate doctors were detached. The camp commandant

12. E. B. Tuttle, *The History of Camp Douglas* . . . (Chicago, 1865), 15; see also *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 4, p. 157, Vol. 6, p. 660, Vol. 7, p. 367.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 345.

PRISONER POPULATION OF CAMP DOUGLAS*

Month	Prisoners On Hand	New	Total	Transferred**	Died	Escaped (Prev. total 103)	Released	Total Lost	Sick	Citizens
62										
h	5,000								400	
.....	7,847	3	7,850		146	45	6	197	589	
.....	7,653	240	7,893		117	2	444	563	558	
.....	7,335	72	7,407	7,195	26	1	134	7,356	1	
63										
.....		3,884	3,884		387	6	51	444	623	
.....	332	48	380		33	8		41		
.....	339		339	226	42	10	9	287	38	
.....	52		52		1		2	3	17	
.....	49		49		1		1	2	18	
.....	47	3,156	3,203	3	3	1		7	50	
.....	3,196	1,937	5,133	2	17		2	21	102	
.....	5,112	1,003	6,115	2	80	59	1	142	252	
.....	5,973	45	6,018	13	100	27	6	146	207	4
.....	5,871	3	5,874		57	65	91	213	218	5
64										
.....	5,661	1	5,662		53	6	34	93	231	1
.....	5,569	38	5,607		54	11	25	90	236	4
h	5,517	130	5,647		66	32	89	187	259	1
.....	5,460	2	5,462		50	2	31	83	254	1
.....	5,379	2	5,381		54		50	104	256	1
.....	5,277		5,277		35	4	1	40	176	1
.....	5,234	1,569	6,803		49	4	2	55	245	
.....	6,748	907	7,655	1	98	2		101	288	
.....	7,554		7,554	1	123	8	2	134	310	
.....	7,420	105	7,525		109	17		126	362	
.....	7,399	1,575	8,974	6	217		10	233	505	4
.....	8,741	3,341	12,082	1	323	6	50	380	407	7
65										
.....	11,702	9	11,711	2	308		162	472	511	7
.....	11,239		11,239	1,500	243		230	1,973	401	5
h	9,266	61	9,327	1,796	147		217	2,160	230	4
l	7,165	3	7,168	99	86		875	1,060	249	2
.....	6,107		6,107	411	63	1	1,496	1,971	280	2
.....	4,136		4,136		16		4,090	4,106	30	1
.....	30†		30	32	4		10	30		

Compiled from reports in *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 986 *et seq.* and Vol. 4, 52.
 Except in March, 1865, when 304 men were transferred, these figures include only other transfers; the remainder were "delivered or exchanged."
 † In hospital.

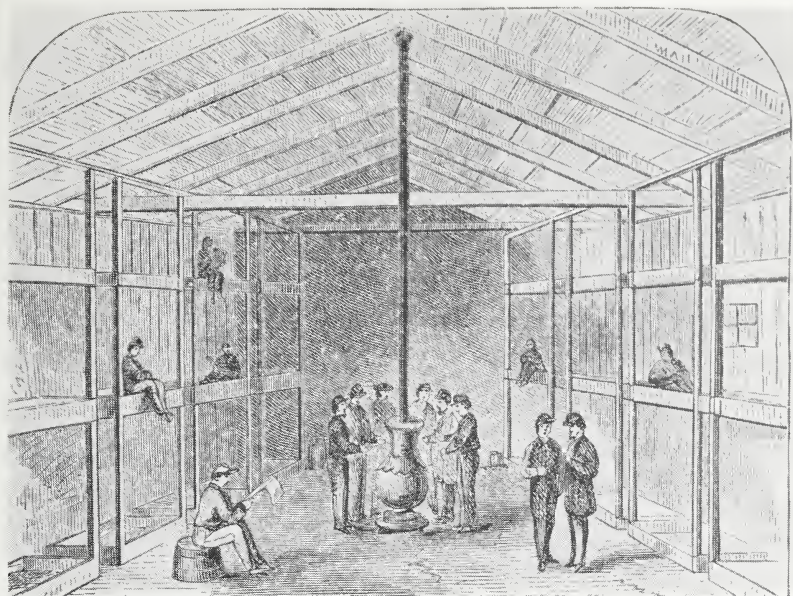
contracted with Chicago doctors, and four of them labored in the camp, aided by four medical assistants. The worst illnesses were scurvy and diseases of the lungs and bowels; many men had colds and dysentery. Because scorbutic conditions existed, extra rations of vegetables were provided, and these extra vegetables helped relieve the situation. Once or twice a smallpox epidemic broke out,¹⁴ and the disease was spread when the prisoners were transferred to other stations. It was not uncommon to see soldiers walking with reversed muskets behind the coffin of a prisoner, with muffled drums and wailing fifes sounding a requiem as the procession passed through the camp gate on the way to the cemetery.

Escapes from Camp Douglas were common, although the escapees were often recaptured. The soil was so soft that it was a simple job for the prisoners to burrow tunnels under the barracks and beneath the wooden fence to freedom.¹⁵ The soil they removed from their digging was packed into the floors of barracks or disposed of on the parade ground. (About five hundred prisoners escaped in this fashion in the four years the camp served as a prison.) In October, 1863, twenty-six men escaped from the camp dungeon by digging under the plank floor until they were ten feet beyond the fence. Others escaped by posing as workmen repairing the outside fence, which had been partially burned. Some escapees were killed, or wounded and recaptured, often through bribes offered the "good citizens" of Chicago. In December, 1863, sixty-five of John Hunt Morgan's men¹⁶ escaped on a dark foggy night, but patrols soon picked up many of them. Their tunnel, forty feet long, was the eighth attempt at digging, and the second to be successful.

14. *Ibid.*, 345, 686; also Vol. 4, pp. 107, 253.

15. *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 848-49.

16. *Ibid.*, 434, 637-38, 861.



At one end of "each barrack is . . . a long hall, with three tiers of bunks on either side, where [the prisoners] do their sleeping."

On another occasion one man, employed in a sutler's shop, was placed in an empty sugar barrel and rolled onto a cart with other barrels and empty crates. When the driver was half a mile outside camp, he heard a noise, turned around and saw the prisoner climb out of the barrel and make his way to freedom.¹⁷ At least one attempt was made by Union bounty-jumpers and deserters to help Confederate prisoners escape from Camp Douglas. A group of these "Union" men were caught in Chicago in November, 1864 and court-martialed at Douglas early in 1865 on a charge of conspiring to release rebel prisoners.¹⁸

The security of the camp was the responsibility of the Veteran Reserve Corps — units of convalescent and disabled Union soldiers not yet able to return to combat duty. The size of the garrison varied with the number of prisoners and

17. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1895.

18. Colbert, *Chicago*, 99.

paroled troops, but it averaged from eight to nine hundred men. On July 24, 1862 the detail consisted of a captain, 7 lieutenants, 13 sergeants, 24 corporals and 382 privates, plus a patrol force which operated outside the fence. A year later there were 978 guards, with requisitions pending for 50 more. In December, 1863 the guard force totaled 1,196, of whom 859 were on duty. Late the following summer army inspectors reported that the prisoners were "more uneasy than usual" and recommended that another regiment be sent to Camp Douglas or that the 8th and 15th Reserve Corps be filled "to their maximum number"; they also suggested that two howitzers with fifty rounds of ammunition be sent to the camp. The request for the howitzers was denied since the battery of artillery already at the camp was deemed sufficient along with the five hundred revolvers furnished the guard. No new regiment was ordered to the camp, but by November five hundred additional men had been added to the existing guard force.¹⁹

In the summer of 1864, at the time of the so-called Northwest Conspiracy, there had been 796 guards, divided between the 8th and the 15th Veteran Reserve Corps, and implemented by the 24th Ohio Battery. The 48th Missouri Volunteers were called to guard duty for a few months during that summer. (Previously, in 1863, the Michigan Sharpshooters had done garrison duty.) The Missourians were reinforced in August by the 106th Pennsylvania, a three-months' regiment, which stayed on until October, when its term of enlistment was up. Artillerymen never really performed guard or picket duty but were kept primarily as a reserve force for unforeseen emergencies. At the end of 1864

19. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 4, p. 279; Vol. 6, pp. 372, 634; Vol. 7, p. 1084.

the garrison consisted of 990 men in the 8th Veteran Reserve Corps, under Lieutenant Colonel Lewis C. Skinner, 980 in the 15th V.R.C., under Lieutenant Colonel Martin Flood, and 164 in the 24th Ohio Battery, under Captain John L. Hill — a total strength of 2,134 men. Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet commanded the camp at this time, resigning in the summer of 1865. After he left, Captain Edward R. P. Shurly, the post adjutant, was in charge until October, when he in turn was relieved by Captain E. C. Phetteplace, who had charge until the camp was abandoned shortly afterward.²⁰

Camp Douglas was subjected to regular inspection by the army's Commissary of Prisoners, who sent regular reports to the Adjutant General's office in Washington. The welfare of the camp can best be examined through excerpts from these reports. Prison conditions were also reported by officers of the United States Sanitary Commission, which served about the same purpose as the Red Cross organization does today. When Henry W. Bellows, commission president, visited Camp Douglas on June 30, 1862, he found standing water, foul sinks, unventilated and crowded barracks over-ridden with vermin, general disorder, "miasmatic accretions," rotten bones and a great deal of garbage in evidence.²¹ That same summer Colonel William Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners, asked for an appropriation to improve the poor camp drainage — which was responsible for much of the sickness in hot weather — but on July 5 Quartermaster General M. C. Meigs refused the request, saying that ten thousand men certainly should be able to keep the place clean.²² On July 8 martial law was declared over an area

20. Colbert, *Chicago*, 95; Bross, *B. J. Sweet*, 27; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 303.

21. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 4, pp. 106, 110.

22. *Ibid.*, 129, 162.

one hundred feet outside the chain of sentinels. Severe penalties for violations of this military area were announced; two hundred posters were placed about the camp, and notices appeared in Chicago papers—the *Tribune*, *Post* and *Times*.²³ About this time Hoffman indicated that many prisoners had enlisted in the federal forces, joining the 23d and 65th Illinois Volunteers.²⁴

A week later, five female prisoners, two of whom were with their husbands, arrived from Island No. 10,²⁵ presenting a new kind of a problem; but it was soon solved, for most of the women became nurses and laundresses. In the next few weeks, incendiary fires destroyed some of the unoccupied barracks; these fires probably were set by unparoled Union troops, who also destroyed fences, tools, and other equipment valued at \$7,652.70.²⁶

In the fall of 1862 the paroled troops began to depart, but new prisoners soon arrived,²⁷ unequipped for barracks life in the bitterly cold northern climate. Many became sick, through bad sanitation, lack of proper clothing and unaccustomed diet. By March 11, 1863, however, Inspector H. W. Freedley reported that conditions had improved and that the barracks and fence had been repaired. He said the camp was comfortably heated and was not too crowded. The prisoners were at work repairing the drainage system. Eight hundred of them had been under medical care when they arrived at camp, and there were still 125 cases of smallpox, which was to cause nineteen deaths. Most of these new pris-

23. *Ibid.*, 154, 188, 192.

24. *Ibid.*, 223.

25. *Ibid.*, 228, 248.

26. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1862; W. A. Goodspeed and D. D. Healy, eds., *History of Cook County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1909), II: 466; *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 4, pp. 644-45 and Vol. 5, p. 214.

27. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 550-51, 721.

oners had come from Texas and Arkansas. Freedley also reported that rations supplied by private contractors cost \$14.43 per hundred. About this time General Ambrose E. Burnside, in command of the district, transmitted a suggestion from the camp medical director that the prison be moved to Des Plaines; General Henry W. Halleck replied on March 29 that such a move was not possible.²⁸ In April, General Ammen was transferred to Springfield, leaving the camp in command of Colonel Daniel Cameron, who was soon succeeded by Captain John C. Phillips, who, in turn, relinquished control to the new permanent commander, Colonel C. V. DeLand, of the First Michigan Sharpshooters.

Early in May, before Colonel DeLand arrived, the camp was ordered cleared of all prisoners except those too sick to leave and a guard large enough to watch them — two companies of the Scotch Regiment and a few men of the 9th Vermont. Colonel DeLand took over that summer, about the time a new group of prisoners was sent to Douglas. To prepare for them, Colonel Hoffman had directed in June that a sewer system be installed. In September he recommended rebuilding the barracks burned the previous fall, but War Secretary Stanton refused this request because of the reported harsh treatment accorded Union prisoners in the South. It is interesting to note, however, that early the following year the barracks had to be rebuilt to alleviate overcrowded conditions. Some \$52,000 was spent for this purpose; \$182,000 went for new fences and sewers, \$61,000 for the prison square and \$80,000 for other buildings — a total of \$375,000.²⁹

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 343-46, Freedley's report; *ibid.*, 400, Burnside to Stanton; *ibid.*, 409, Halleck to Burnside.

29. *Ibid.*, 476-77, 481, 554, Vol. 6, pp. 4, 371-72, 314-15; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 303.



Camp Douglas prisoners waiting for roll call — "Those who have the misfortune to be at the foot of the column may have to wait half an hour before they hear the welcome sound; and in cold or rainy weather this delay is not over-agreeable."

Among the new prisoners who arrived in the summer of 1863 were such distinguished men as Sam Houston, Jr., Polk Johnson (son of Cave Johnson, then a Unionist member of the Tennessee State Senate), young Magruder Magoffin, the son of Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky, and Henry M. Stanley, later to become a noted correspondent (of "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" fame). DeLand apparently made a vigorous effort to improve conditions for those confined there, although an inspection on October 9 by A. M. Clark, surgeon and medical director of all prisoners of war, reported conditions bad. Clark indicated that 6,085 prisoners were guarded by a force of 978 men. He said there were only three water hydrants in the entire camp; there was much rain; the prisoners were annoyed by high winds that blew in sandy soil from the prairies. Discipline was reported as very lax, and ventilation was bad in the barracks. Al-

though the hospital and guard barracks were well heated, other buildings had little heat at all. Poor sanitary facilities still prevailed, and sinks were still open. Food was good and abundant, the hospital was good, but even the hospitalized men needed blankets and clean clothes. Twelve hundred prisoners had no blankets, and most of the men were filthy. Hospital facilities needed to be increased to care for 325 prisoners sick with typhoid, pneumonia and measles. Clark asked for two more doctors and reported that he had arranged to get ten more hydrants. He found the ditch on the north side along the fence filled with stagnant pools because the ground was uneven. The prisoners' barracks, he said, needed repairs and more ventilation and heat. A dungeon used for close confinement was eighteen feet square, and had only one small window, a trap door in the ceiling, and a small, ill-smelling sink. Twenty-four men were confined there, although it had been designed to hold only three or four; not surprisingly, many had attempted to escape.³⁰

As a result of this report, DeLand was ordered, on October 24, to rectify these conditions.³¹ At the close of the year there were about 1,800 Union men at camp, many of them caring for horses, since Chicago had been made a depot for the purchase of government horses. About 1,500 had been purchased at a cost of \$1,800,000.³²

On November 12, 1883 DeLand and his command were ordered away from Camp Douglas, but the order had to be suspended until he was relieved.³³ Suddenly, on December 1, all trade with the sutlers was prohibited because of sus-

30. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 986-1003, Camp Douglas reports; Vol. 6, pp. 371-74, Clark's report.

31. *Ibid.*, 417-18.

32. *Ibid.*, 850; Colbert, *Chicago*, 95.

33. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 6, p. 504; Ser. I, Vol. 52, Pt. 1, p. 504.

pected profiteering. Fowler and Company, provisioners, were ordered to make restitution for deficiencies in the beef, soap and molasses they had provided, and on February 20, 1864 DeLand was ordered court-martialed because of his neglect in these matters. The practice had been for contractors to deliver supplies directly to the rebel commissary sergeants, and the contractors had greatly cut deliveries although they invoiced for the full amounts.³⁴

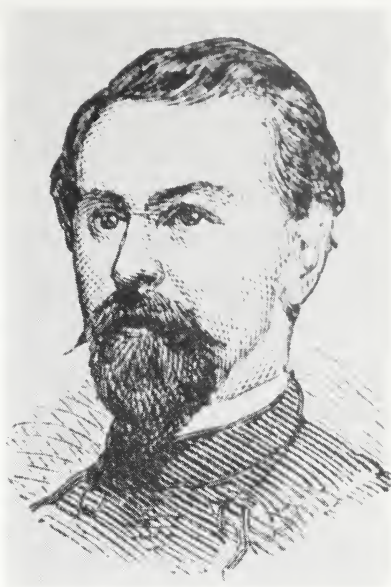
During November, 1863, fires that were caused by overheated stoves destroyed six barracks, as well as four hundred feet of fence and much other property, despite the fact that city fire engines were brought in to help put out the blazes. By December the camp was so overcrowded that one thousand men had to be sent to the military prison at Rock Island, Illinois. By the end of that month, coal stoves had been installed in all barracks. All the cot beds in the hospital now had hay mattresses, sheets, pillows stuffed with hay or hair, pillow slips and two or more blankets. New hospital clothing was adequate and rations were the same as for federal troops sick in government hospitals.³⁵

To start 1864 in proper fashion, a new four-ward hospital was erected. During the preceding December hospital wards for prisoners took care of 134 cases of measles, 168 cases of mumps, 84 of pneumonia and 233 of catarrh. Of the 2,011 prisoners reported sick at the end of the year, 57 died. At the beginning of February there was an inspection of 1,781 U.S. troops and 5,581 prisoners. Other reports were about the same as before — the men were still filthy, although drainage was now good; policing was much neglected, but rations were abundant and good; clothing was poor and

34. *Ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. 6, pp. 625, 975.

35. *Ibid.*, 632-36.

*Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet,
commander of Camp Douglas
in 1864-1865.*



there was a shortage of overcoats. The hospital was very clean, but the barracks were filthy. All barracks were being moved to the western end of the camp because the dirt floors in the other sections were muddy. Vaccination was thoroughly enforced.³⁶

On May 2, 1864 the command fell upon Colonel James C. Strong, of the 15th V.R.C.; he was under the supervision of Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet, commander of the military district. Sweet's headquarters, formerly on Washington Street in Chicago, were removed to Camp Douglas, and he assumed personal supervision of the camp. For greater security, he had all the prisoners' barracks raised several feet above the ground to prevent tunneling. He cut the amount of rations served to prisoners, saying there was too much waste and that hominy, tea and candles had been taken into the tunnels. He thoroughly policed and drained the camp grounds, cut apart and moved barracks. Each of the thirty-two barracks was ninety feet long, and housed 165 prisoners.

36. *Ibid.*, 848-51, 908-10.

Sweet wanted thirty-nine more, which would cost \$19,500 to build and would increase the capacity of the prison to about twelve thousand. In fact, so many prisoners came in that on June 13 Sweet had to requisition tentage to care for two thousand of them. He improved the post headquarters, built more apartments for officers' quarters and increased the company barracks sevenfold. He built many large warehouses for the quartermaster, commissary and other departments and added two large hospitals in the garrison enclosure.³⁷

Prisoners continued to arrive so fast that Sweet had to double accommodations. Most of these recent arrivals were "souvenirs" of Hood's defeats. Again, these men were weak and destitute when they arrived at Camp Douglas. The table accompanying this narrative shows 7,652 new arrivals during 1864. Two hundred federal enlisted men also were held at Douglas during the year; 23,037 prisoners were treated in the hospitals, and 1,156 died. With only 420 hospital beds, one can well understand the urgent need for more facilities.³⁸

Al this activity on the part of Sweet was reflected in the report of July 25, 1864, which indicated that the camp was in excellent condition, well disciplined and policed. The change since April was astonishing. For example, there was the new hospital with 225 beds, well kept. Only forty-six cases of smallpox were known; interment now was made by a sexton under contract. On September 9 the smallpox hospital was ordered removed to Dull Grove, the move to be

37. *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, pp. 57, 102, 142-43, 184, 369; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 303.

38. Colbert, *Chicago*, 95; *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 497, indicates 225 beds in new hospital. Old facilities (post hospital and prison hospital) account for difference.

paid for from prison funds. About this time, Sweet received authorization to build new quarters on the prison square to take care of expected new prisoners, at a cost of \$500 per building.³⁹

During the summer the famed Northwest Conspiracy came to a head. A group of subversive elements called the "Sons of Liberty," or "Copperheads," planned to seize various prison camps throughout the country, release the Confederate prisoners and assume political control of the North. Their original intention was to strike during the convention of the National Democratic Party at Chicago in August. The "Supreme Grand Council" of this group met in Chicago on July 20 and planned a series of training meetings for their people. They set August 16 as the date on which to strike. Through particularly good detective work, their movements were known and watched. On August 9 General Samuel P. Heintzelman, at Columbus, Ohio, alerted Washington,⁴⁰ and cautioned the authorities there to watch for disturbances in the Midwest, especially in Indiana and Illinois. Camp Douglas was reinforced by a new guard regiment — the 100th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Another was sent to the prison at Rock Island. Meanwhile, August 16 came and passed without any serious action. But the Sons of Liberty had set a new date for their uprising — August 29 — and had sent Confederate officers to Chicago to prepare for action. United States authorities were kept apprised of the plans and assigned I. Winslow Ayer, a patent medicine vendor, and Thomas H. Keefe, a secret service operative, to Chicago, where they joined the Sons of Liberty and were soon in a position to keep Sweet posted. On August 28 the leaders met again and

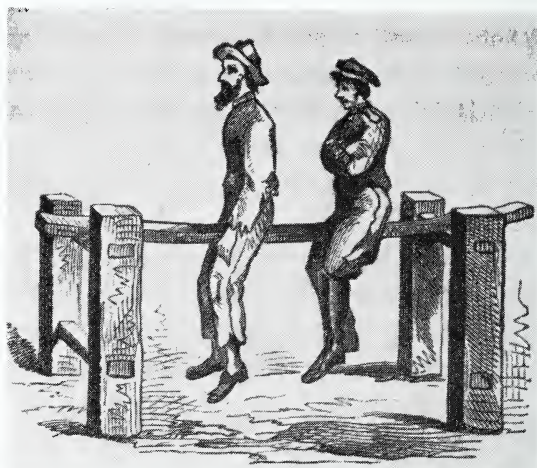
39. *Ibid.*, 496-97, 795, 834-35.

40. George Fort Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (Washington, 1943), 211-16.



Except for a few prisoners who were considered dangerous and were confined to a dungeon on bread and water, punishment at Camp Douglas was seldom harsh. The culprit at the left, sentenced to draw a ball and chain about the camp, "lights his pipe, assumes a nonchalant air, and tries to make you think he is having an easy time of it."

"A half hour's ride" on a rail often made the culprit "long for 'a chance afoot.'"



A third form of punishment was to force the prisoner to stand on a pork barrel "a longer or shorter time, in the centre of the prison-yard."

learned that the prisoners within the camp were organized to help, once the attack started. To the prisoners' amazement, they learned that the attacking force had not been organized and that the conspirators were very weak. The crowning blow came when the leaders were told that the garrison had suddenly been strengthened. They abandoned their plan, but later set a third date for the liberation of prisoners — November 8, the day of the presidential election. This time the plot was foiled by General Sweet, who made simultaneous arrests of the leaders on the night of November 6-7.⁴¹

By this time the 8,352 Confederate prisoners were filling nearly every job in camp. About one-third of them were Texas Rangers and Morgan's guerrillas — wild, reckless fighting men. They served out rations, ammunition and clothing to their guards, and some kept records in Sweet's office. Suddenly all of their activities were curtailed and they were confined to barracks. They made an abortive attempt to break out on September 19, 1864 — the same day that saw the seizure of the steamers *Parsons* and *Island Queen* and the affair at Johnson's Island, Ohio; it also was the day the new draft had been advertised to start.⁴²

Shortly afterward, inspection reports indicated a general discouragement among the prisoners, most of whom had now been confined for more than a year. The prisoners needed better medical officers, doctors who would be more efficient in caring for the sick. On October 8, 984 men, of a total prisoner population of 7,402, were reported sick in barracks. There was an insufficient ration of potatoes and

41. *Ibid.*, 223; Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago, 1907), 74-76.

42. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 861.

other vegetables, especially of the antiscorbutics sutlers were not permitted to sell. In the inspection reports of August and September it was recommended that a six-inch water pipe replace the three-inch pipe then in use, and also that new kitchen boilers for the barracks replace eighteen boilers considered unsafe. The request for the pipe was granted, and Sweet was informed that he had authority to replace the boilers whenever new ones were needed.⁴³ Inspection reports of November 6 indicated that Morgan's men were behaving badly and that smallpox cases were increasing.⁴⁴

On January 15, 1865 conditions were reported to be good; there were only sixteen new cases of smallpox and varioloid. The only need was for new blankets. Because of good hospital facilities, it was suggested that sick prisoners be transferred from the prison hospital at Camp Douglas to the post hospital without guards and that Union sick use the prison hospital as well.⁴⁵ Five days later a guard shot a prisoner in the prison square for committing a nuisance (urinating). A military commission called this shooting justifiable. On March 15 one prisoner murdered another by stabbing him.⁴⁶

Early in the spring the discharge of prisoners started. After the collapse of the Rebellion and the fall of Richmond, prisoners were released quickly. As early as February, 178 had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and in May — the month after the war's end — 1,496 were released. By the beginning of July only thirty men, patients in the hospital, remained at Camp Douglas. Shortly thereafter, the garrison guard was demobilized.⁴⁷

43. *Ibid.*, 954-55, 1067, 1083-84.

44. *Ibid.*, 1104-5.

45. *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, pp. 689, 693-94.

46. *Ibid.*, 115, 401.

47. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 303; *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 714, 1002.

For a short time the grounds served as a place of rendezvous for the regiments of federal troops returning to be mustered out. On November 24, 1865 the government started selling the camp property. For a time the hospital was used as a city hospital. Then the barracks were torn down and the lumber sold. The fences were sold for what they could bring; in all, 158 buildings were destroyed.⁴⁸

In the years since then, the city of Chicago has expanded, and streets and subdivisions have spread over the camp property. The last relic of Camp Douglas was found in 1919 when the excavation for a new house uncovered the foundation of one of the camp offices. About the only Civil War associations remaining in the neighborhood are the home of Senator Lyman Trumbull — nearby on Lake Park Avenue south of Thirty-ninth Street — and the monument to Stephen A. Douglas, which stands on the camp site.

48. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 303.

WILLIAM S. WARFORD

Mission Unaccomplished — Lincoln and an Office-Seeker

A resident of Quincy, the author began to study Lincoln and the Civil War as a boy of eleven. In these early pursuits, he was often, and generously, encouraged, he says, by Harry E. Pratt, Benjamin P. Thomas and Paul M. Angle, all at one time associated with the Abraham Lincoln Association and the Illinois State Historical Library. Warford is now assistant to the general manager of a medical clinic and associate pastor of a Quincy church. In addition, he edits a book review department for eight Illinois and Missouri papers and is active in several midwest historical societies.

THE PROBLEM of office-seekers is nothing new in Washington, D.C.; neither was it new in Lincoln's time. Four recently discovered letters from Orville H. Browning, United States Senator from Illinois, 1861-1863, trace the development of one Illinois man's attempt to secure a political appointment. Although the effort was unsuccessful, and the episode insignificant, the letters are interesting because of what they reveal about Browning's relations with President Lincoln and with his onetime constituents.

Browning was appointed to the United States Senate in 1861 by Governor Richard Yates to fill the unexpired term of Stephen A. Douglas, who died June 3 of that year. But, following the election of 1862, the Democratic General Assembly gave the seat to Browning's arch-rival, William A.

Richardson of Quincy. Browning remained in Washington, where he formed a law firm in partnership with three other men, and engaged in practice — mainly before the United States Supreme Court and the federal Court of Claims.

On June 11, 1864 one Captain Cornelius J. Swartwout (or, sometimes, Swartout) wrote to former Senator Browning for assistance in securing an appointment as port surveyor at Wilmington, North Carolina, or Charleston, South Carolina, "when these Ports, or either of them, shall be opened."

Swartwout himself had been active in Adams County Republican politics and had ardently supported the Republican ticket in the election of 1860. Despite his prominence in the 1860's, however, none of the several histories of Quincy or Adams County contains a biographical sketch of Swartwout. A biography of his son Alonzo M. Swartwout, in *Portrait and Biographical Record of Adams County, Illinois*, provides almost the only available information about the father. Cornelius J. Swartwout, the author of that volume states, was born in Dutchess County, New York, the son of James Swartwout, a soldier in the Revolutionary War and a descendant of immigrants from Holland who came to America with Henry Hudson. About Cornelius, the sketch continues:

Cornelius Swartwout was a steamboat captain on the Hudson, plying between New York and Albany for years, and made his home in New York City during that time. In 1837, he came West and located in Quincy, where he was agent for the Patent Lands until his death, in 1870. He was one of the first Aldermen of Quincy, and was first a Whig and then a Republican in politics. His wife was Phoebe Lapham, born in Dutchess County, N.Y., a daughter of Reuben Lapham, a farmer of that region. Mrs. Swartwout died when East on a visit, and left seven children.¹

1. Chapman Bros., pub., *Portrait and Biographical Record of Adams County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1892), 574.



Orville H. Browning

Cornelius Swartwout is listed in several Quincy city directories as a resident at 142 Vermont Street, but in only one, that of 1863, is his occupation given. He is said there to have been "route agent [that is, steamboat agent], from St. Louis to Keokuk."² His work as patent land agent is not mentioned.

This then was the man who asked Browning to contact President Lincoln on his behalf.

Browning's reply to Swartwout's request was equivocal, to say the least:

WASHINGTON D.C. July 5, 1864

Friend Swartwout

Dear Sir

Yours of 11th. June came to hand whilst I was engaged in the trial of a most important case, which has occupied the whole of my time for now near four weeks, and which I closed only this

². *Campbell & Richardson's Quincy City Directory and Business Mirror for 1863.*

morning.³ I have now seated my self to answer some of the letters which have accumulated in the meantime.

It will give me the greatest pleasure to do something for you, if in my power, but I cannot promise success. It is hard for an outsider, who holds no office himself, to get offices for others. The members of Congress gobble up everything that is going.

In addition to this Mr. Stanton has given me, from time to time, perhaps more than my share. Still I will make the effort, and if there is anything to be had, it will not give you more pleasure to receive it than it will me to procure it for you.

I hope to be at home in about two weeks, when I trust I will have the pleasure of seeing you.

Truly your friend

O. H. BROWNING⁴

Browning left Washington for Quincy on July 20 as planned, arriving there July 23. Presumably he conferred with Swartwout, although he does not mention such a meeting in his diary. In September, Browning returned to Washington, via New York.

Apparently Swartwout continued to press his claim for an office, and, finally, on March 16, 1865, Browning reported to his anxious friend that he had spoken to the President:

WASHINGTON D.C.

March 16, 1865

Capt. C J Swartwout

Quincy, Ills:

My Dear Friend

I saw the [Pr]esident this morning, [an]d renewed my application [on] your behalf.

3. The case was that of *Wiley vs. Brown*, which Browning had argued before the Supreme Court, beginning on June 13. In their edition of the *Browning Diary*, historians Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall comment on the peculiar absence of any record of this action in the published decisions of the court; see *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Volume I, 1850-1864* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, XX, Springfield, 1925), 672n.

4. The originals of this and the other three letters quoted below are in the collection of the Quincy and Adams County Historical Society and are published here for the first time with the special permission of President George Irwin.

He told me no custom Houses had yet been opened at Charleston, Wilmington, or any of the places recently captured; but asked me to file a written application with him for you, and that he would not forget you.

I will do this immediately, and be assured *I* will not forget you when they come to making appointments for those places. I told him you wished to be a weigher or measurer. Was I right?

In haste Truly yours

O. H. BROWNIN[G]

After almost a month, on April 10, 1865, Browning did present a written application to Lincoln on behalf of Swartwout. The original letter has not been found, but on May 28, 1865 Browning mailed the Captain a copy.

MR. PRESIDENT

I have in Quincy, Illinois, an old friend by the name of Cornelius J. Swartwout, who wishes to be appointed Surveyor of the Port of Wilmington or Charleston, when these Ports, or either of them, shall be opened.

He would prefer Wilmington.

Mr. Swartwout has been a zealous Republican from the organization of the party, always a warm friend of yours, and is as true and faithful a man as the country contains.

He is familiar with the duties of the office — honest and capable, and I will be very much gratified if he can get the situation.

As ever, Your friend

April 10, 1865.

O. H. BROWNING

By this date Browning's earlier impression that Swartwout had wanted "to be a weigher or a measurer" had been corrected, for the application properly named the job Swartwout wanted, as well as the location he preferred.

With the end of the war and the opening of southern ports, the prospects for the successful outcome of Swartwout's and Browning's efforts that had taken almost two years seemed assured. But Lincoln's assassination changed the whole picture. Finally, on May 18, 1865, Swartwout, for the last time

of which there seems to be any record, again appealed for help from his sponsor. Browning's reply apparently wrote "finale" to the episode:

WASHINGTON May 28, 1865

Capt C. J. Swartwout

Dear Friend

Yours of the 18th. is duly received.

President Lincoln was down at Petersburg for about two weeks just before his assination [*sic*].

Only a day or two before he went down I had a talk with him about you, and he promised to give you a place at Charleston or Wilmington when the custom houses should be opened there, and asked me to make a written application in your behalf, so that he would be sure not to forget it.

He returned from Richmond and Petersburg Sunday evening, the 9th. of Apl. and the next morning early I called on him.

He was not receiving, but admitted me, and I had a long talk with him.⁵ Had he lived you would have got the appointment.

Now it is doubtful. I will do all in my power for you, but cannot promise success. Of one thing I am certain, and that is, that I will not be able to do as much for my friends as I have done heretofore.

I enclose you a copy of the paper I prepared at President Lincoln's request, but unhappily for us all, he fell by the hand of an assassin before the time had come for him to act upon it.

I was sure of providing for you if he had lived. Now, I am not, but will exert all the influence I possess.

Truly your Friend

O. H. BROWNING

5. On April 10, 1865 Browning wrote in his diary, "Saw the President for a little while this morning. He was not receiving and I did not remain long." Pease and Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Volume II, 1865-1881* (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, XXII, Springfield, 1933), 17.

Lincolniana Notes

Lincoln the Real Estate Agent

One of the great differences between Abraham Lincoln and his contemporaries, especially the lawyers with whom he was closely associated, was his apparent disinterest in, or inability at, making money in real estate transactions.

While some of his contemporaries, such as Judge David Davis, Stephen T. Logan and C. H. Moore, amassed fortunes in farm land and other property, Lincoln's most valuable piece of real estate was his home at Eighth and Jackson streets, in Springfield. At various times, however, he did own 160 acres of farm land in Tama and Crawford counties, in Iowa, which he received for his service in the Black Hawk War; 40 acres of land in Coles County, Illinois, which he bought from his father; a lot in Lincoln, Illinois; two lots in Bloomington, both forced on him because of bad debts; a few lots in Springfield and a small piece of land on the Sangamon River, north of Petersburg, Illinois. But these were minor holdings, indeed, when compared with the thousands of acres accumulated by his associates at the bar. Outside of a small profit from the sale of the lots in Springfield, none of Lincoln's property ever brought him any income, and it is probable that taxes over the years ate up the profit from the Springfield lots. At the time of his death he owned only the Iowa land, his home, and the lot in Lincoln, Illinois.

Lincoln's failure to make money in real estate is surprising since he was generally recognized as one of the best title lawyers in Illinois and his practice frequently involved real estate. In March, 1856, at the request of David Davis, he wrote for Lucius G. Fisher a lengthy opinion on land titles in Beloit, Wisconsin; before that, in the fall of 1852, he and Noah Johnston, as commissioners appointed by the legislature, had investigated claims concerning land on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Lincoln also had many real estate title cases in both the circuit and supreme courts.

On at least one occasion, however, he did become involved in a real estate promotional venture — an account of which, based on unpublished records, is presented here for the first time. Lincoln undertook the venture in behalf of Mrs. Maria L. Todd Bullock of Fayette County, Kentucky (an aunt of Mrs. Lincoln's). Mrs. Bullock owned two pieces of ground, now within the city limits of Springfield, which Lincoln undertook to convert into money.

These negotiations had their beginning on April 1, 1831, when Mrs. Bullock received a mortgage deed to thirty-six acres of farm land from her brother, Dr. John Todd. In the same transaction she acquired one plot of town property which lay north of Elijah Iles's land and south of Taylor's West Addition. Also included were furniture, wagons, horses and one indentured Negro woman named Phebe and her two children, Benjamin and Emily. The mortgage was given to cover two promissory notes: one for \$1,000, dated March 10, 1815, and another for \$3,300, with a credit of \$1,184.53, dated May 19, 1815. In August, 1832 Mrs. Bullock filed suit in Sangamon County Circuit Court against Dr. Todd. Her attorney, John J. Hardin, won the case, and Mrs. Bullock became owner of the property by deed from Dr. Todd, dated November 24, 1832.

Mrs. Bullock held the real estate until 1855 and very likely did not receive any income from it during those years. How she happened to choose Lincoln to dispose of the property for her is not known at present. The choice is especially surprising in view of the fact that she had several relatives in Springfield (her nephew John Todd Stuart, for example) who could have handled the work for her.

The earliest record of Lincoln's connection with the transaction was an advertisement in the June 18 and 19, 1855 *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield:

SALE OF REAL ESTATE.


On Saturday, June 23, 1855, at 2 o'clock, p.m.,

Will be sold at public auction, at the court house door in Springfield, thirty-six acres of land, being the east part of the east half of the north west quarter of section 28, T. 16 — R. 5 West — and being one half a mile in length from north to south, and thirty-six rods wide

LINCOLNIANA NOTES

from east to west. This land adjoins the corporate limits of Springfield on the north west; is covered with a heavy growth of young timber; and will be sold in parcels of about nine acres each.

ALSO — at the same time and place, a small irregularly shaped piece of land, of about three acres, lying on the branch, immediately West of the residence of Dr. John Todd, and south of the Gas-works.

 Credit will be given, for the whole, or some part of the purchase money. Full particulars to be made known at the time and place of sale.

A. LINCOLN,
for the owner.

The thirty-six-acre plot of ground is now the east half of Hay and Amos Subdivision of the City of Springfield; it lies on the west side of First Street, with North Grand Avenue on the north and Union Street on the south. The only copy of the survey Lincoln had made of this tract has been found in one of Z. A. Enos' Survey Record Books, now owned by the Sangamon County Abstract Company. The certification of the survey reads:

I hereby certify having on the 20th, 21st and 22nd days of June A. D. 1855 surveyed for "A. Lincoln" the east part of the east half of the NW 1/4 of Sec. 28, Township 16, north range 5 West of the 3rd p.m. as shown in the annexed plat and field notes

Scale 5 chain to one inch

James Ward
Edward Rafter Chainmen
Ephriman Brewer

Z. A. Enos
Surveyor Sang. Co.

The plat shows four lots of a little over nine acres each, with Lot No. 1 on the north. A road running diagonally through Lot No. 3 from the northwest corner to the southeast corner is marked "Road from McKinney Settlement."

The public sale took place as scheduled on June 23, and the four lots in the thirty-six-acre tract brought a total price of \$1,427.92 1/4. The three-acre tract was not sold.

John Connelly purchased Lot 4, and Nathaniel Hay purchased Lots 1, 2 and 3. Lincoln collected \$143.68 from the two men and deeded the lots to them on June 25, signing, "Maria L. Bullock per A. Lincoln." Then from Connelly he took two notes with personal security, together amounting to \$377, payable in one and two years, at 6 per cent interest. He also took a mortgage on the land. For Hay's three lots he also took a mortgage and two notes with personal security, in the amount of \$907.14, payable in the same manner.

Of the \$143.68 cash which Lincoln received, he spent \$42.70 — for newspaper advertisements of the sale, for printing notice bills, for recording the mortgages and for paying the auctioneer, the surveyor and the latter's helpers. The balance of \$101 he exchanged for a certificate of deposit (from Clark's Exchange Bank), which he sent to Mrs. Bullock.

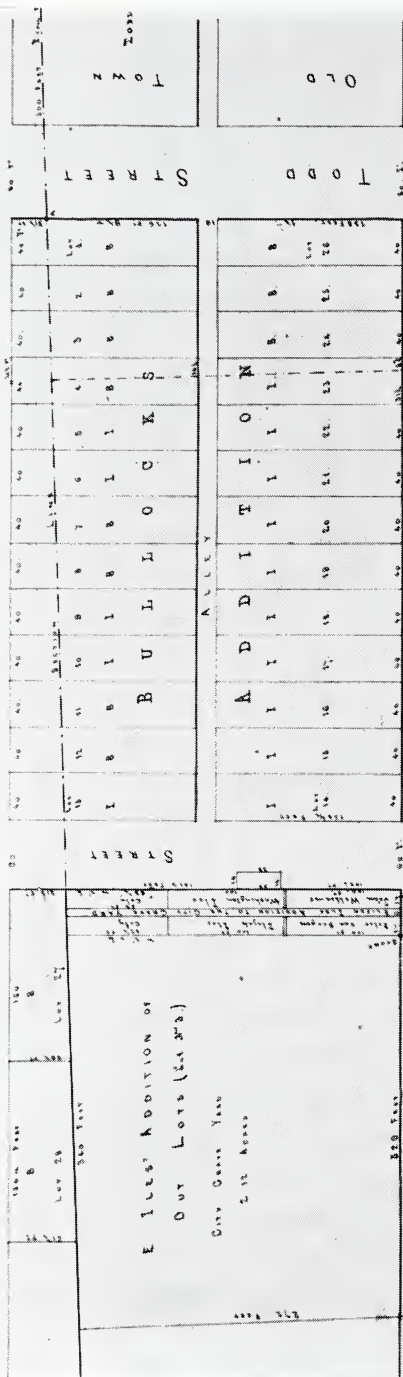
The three-acre piece of land probably was not sold because of its irregular shape; it may not even have been offered at the June 23 auction. The tract started as a strip 61 feet wide at the north-west corner of the city graveyard (extending between the north side of the graveyard and Washington Street) and tapered to a width of 31 feet at First Street, a distance of about two city blocks. A connecting strip, 140 feet wide at its north end and 128 feet on the south, ran along the west side of First Street for a distance of one block between Washington and Adams streets.

The rest of the land between Washington and Adams streets was also an irregular strip, owned by Elijah Iles, and it is probable that Lincoln and Iles felt they could do better by joining forces. On August 1, 1855 Iles deeded Lots 1 and 2 in Iles's First West Addition to Mrs. Bullock. On the same day he made the following entry in his account book:

These lots are conveyed to Mrs. Bullock, for the purpose of being laid out into Lots "Bullocks Addition to Springfield." Consideration nominal \$1.00, and she is to reconvey to me, my equitable portion of the lots, she having the Land adjoining to be laid out in Lots, with the above.

On July 26 and 27 Z. A. Enos had surveyed the property and

WASHINGTON STREET



ADAMS STREET

STREET

EDWARDS & MATHERS ADDITION

WILKES ADDITION

CHILDS ADDITION

LOT 24 1/2 E L L E S' ADDITION OF OUR LOTS

State of Illinois }
Champaign County 358

Before me the undersigned, an acting justice of the Peace within, and for the county aforesaid, came Mrs Maria E. Bullock personally, known to me to be the same person who procured to be made the above Plat of Bullock's Addition to the City of Springfield, and the Survey thereof shown, and acknowledged same Plat for the purpose of having it recorded according to law, all which I hereby certify.

Given under my hand and seal the fourth day of August A.D. 1855.

Joseph H. Haines, J.P.

Plat of Bullock's Addition to the City of Springfield which was made by 7 A Enactor Lincoln with Lincoln's

made a plat of Bullock's Addition to the City of Springfield. Lincoln made a three-line correction on the plat, and on August 4 he added Mrs. Bullock's certification to that plat, which Josiah Francis notarized as justice of the peace. On the same day Lincoln (for Mrs. Bullock) deeded Iles his equitable share, being Lots 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 23 — fifteen lots out of a total of twenty-eight. Iles noted the transaction in his account book: "Mrs. Bullock has re-conveyed to me, my portion of the above mentioned Lots in Bullocks 'Addition.'"

By this time Lincoln was ready to begin promoting the lots, and on August 13, 1855 he ran another advertisement in the *Journal*:

SALE OF TOWN LOTS.

That parcel of Land Lying Between Washington and Adam's Streets, and immediately west of the late residence of Dr. Todd, has been surveyed into Town Lots; and, ON SATURDAY the 18th of AUGUST, inst., at 2 o'clock, p.m., upon the premises, a portion of said Lots will be offered at public auction.

TERMS favorable, to be made known at the time and place of sale.

A. LINCOLN,
for Proprietor.

The lots belonging to Mrs. Bullock were sold to five buyers for a total of \$990. Of this sum \$197 was paid in cash. Lincoln used \$38.10 for the routine advertising and legal expenses and, in addition, paid \$50 to the heirs of Charles R. Matheny for a quitclaim deed to clear the title. The balance of \$108.98 he sent Mrs. Bullock — \$2.08 in cash and a certificate of deposit at Clark's Exchange Bank for \$106.90.

The sale of the lots to the five purchasers was handled in the following manner:

(1) The City of Springfield bought Lots 27 and 28 for \$50 cash and added the land to the city graveyard.

(2) John Cook bought Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4, paying \$62 cash and giving two notes for the balance of \$468 (due in one and two years, at 6 per cent). Lincoln took no mortgage — a fact he would later regret.

(3) Patrick Keiley bought Lots 7 and 8 for \$170, giving Lin-

coln \$17 in cash and two notes (on the same terms) in the amount of \$153. Lincoln did take a mortgage on this property.

(4) William S. Viney bought three lots, Numbers 24, 25 and 26, for \$180, paying \$18 in cash. Lincoln also took a mortgage on this property as well as two notes, again for one and two years at 6 per cent.

(5) Elijah Iles bought Lots 11 and 12 for \$90. Lincoln, however, received only \$80 in cash — see his accounting below.

On August 31, 1855 Lincoln wrote Mrs. Bullock a three-page letter in which he explained all he had done in her behalf concerning the two pieces of property she had acquired in 1832. He ended with the following accounting:

Aggregate of Sales		\$2417.92.
Amount of notes	2067.14	
Deduction to Iles	10.00	
Expenses	80.80	
Paid Mathenys heirs	50.00	
Paid you	209.98	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$2417.92.

Thus, by this time, Mrs. Bullock had realized \$2,067.14 in notes and \$209.98 in cash for property which twenty-three years earlier had cost her \$3,115.47 in moneys loaned to her brother.

In addition to notes from three purchasers of the town lots, Mrs. Bullock also held notes, it will be remembered, from John Connelly and Nathaniel Hay, who had bought the four lots in the thirty-six-acre tract on June 23.

The history of the payment of these notes is perhaps revealing of Lincoln's ability as a real estate agent.

Three of the five obligations were paid on time. Nathaniel Hay died in 1856, and his administrator, Joshua F. Adams, paid both principal and interest in full. Lincoln receipted both notes on November 13, 1856 and sent Mrs. Bullock a check for \$970 on December 16; on March 21, 1857 he made a marginal release in the mortgage record in the county recorder's office. On the same day, he made a similar release on the mortgage record of Patrick Keiley, whose note was also paid on time, as was John Connelly's.

Lincoln's release on the latter's mortgage record is dated July 21, 1857.

The notes of Cook and Viney still had not been paid on December 2, 1858, when Charles D. Carr, a nephew of Mrs. Bullock, wrote Lincoln about the debts. He wanted to know if they could be collected, since Aunt Maria preferred, he said, to put her money in bank stock. On Christmas day Carr again wrote about the notes.

Finally, on January 3, 1859, Lincoln wrote Mrs. Bullock: "It annoys me to have to say that I can not collect money now. I now believe the quickest way that I can get your money is for me to buy the debts of you, as soon as I can get in any money of my own to do it with. . . . This does not apply to the small debt of eighty odd dollars, upon which I shall sue and foreclose the mortgage next court."

The "small debt" was William S. Viney's note, for which Lincoln sued in the April term of the circuit court. On May 19, 1859 he was awarded judgment of \$108.39, and Antrim Campbell, master in chancery, was ordered to sell the three lots. Two years were still to pass, however, before Mrs. Bullock would get her money from the three lots purchased by Viney.

John Cook was now the only purchaser who had not paid off his note, and he was also the only one from whom Lincoln did not take a mortgage. In the meantime, Lincoln apparently did get some money of his own, for on April 16, 1860 he sent Mrs. Bullock a Marine Bank check for \$503.13 to pay John Cook's note with interest. On the next day Cook gave Lincoln a note for \$750. Finally, after five years, Mrs. Bullock had been paid for her land, but Lincoln was holding the bag for \$750. Furthermore, in the entire transaction he received no pay for his services.

When Lincoln left for Washington as President-elect, the Cook note was one he listed when he placed his business affairs in the hands of Robert Irwin at the Marine Bank. The debt was finally collected on January 11, 1864, and Irwin deposited \$956.25 in Lincoln's account — \$750 principal and the balance, interest on Cook's note.

At his client's insistence, Lincoln had acted to convert her Spring-

field property to cash. This he succeeded in doing, perhaps to her best advantage at the time. But an attorney with capital to invest in real estate — or with an interest in doing so — could have become a wealthy man by holding Mrs. Bullock's land for a few more years. One Springfield entrepreneur did just that. Although Elijah Iles sold the lots he acquired from Mrs. Bullock, he retained six lots he had originally held in the adjoining tract. These six lots were sold on October 29, 1875 for \$2,100, only \$318 less than the total sum Mrs. Bullock received — with Lincoln acting as her agent — for thirteen adjoining lots plus a thirty-six-acre tract.

JAMES T. HICKEY

Freeport Society Issues Debate Book

The Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Society has issued a commemorative volume of the Freeport debate centennial. Distributed in December and January to some 1,250 advance subscribers, the book was prepared by Society President Robert J. Schmelzle and his committee: Mrs. Carl H. Neyhart, Howard B. Scholes, Mrs. Robert M. Seeley, Mrs. Elisabeth Yager and Robert P. Eckert, Jr. Assisting with the production of the volume were Miss Ruth Winn, Mrs. Marie Franz and A. L. Riche.

The attractively bound book details the planning and operation of the Freeport debate centennial observances in the summer of 1958 and includes descriptions of parades, programs and other festivities. The volume also contains the script for the historical pageant "Day of Decision," presented two years ago, and all of the historical sketches prepared for the Society's original centennial booklet as well as twenty-four pages of color illustrations.

Lincoln Letter Given to University

The University of Illinois Library has recently acquired an 1856 letter written by Abraham Lincoln to Jesse K. Dubois, then of Lawrence County, about a meeting with United States Senator Lyman K. Trumbull.

Dated Springfield, August 19, 1856, the letter conveys Lincoln's

hope that he can meet with the two men later that year at Lawrenceville, where Trumbull was expected to visit.

The Senator had previously asked the "state committee," Lincoln said, to make "appointments" — that is, to arrange grass-roots political meetings — starting on September 11 at Springfield and extending through the southern half of the state.

Trumbull addressed a Sangamon County Frémont meeting in Springfield on September 25 and made speeches at rallies in Alton on October 2, in Ottawa on October 7, Joliet on October 8 and Peoria on October 9. He was also scheduled to attend Frémont meetings in Jacksonville and Carlinville, and probably he appeared at several of the other "mass meetings" set up by the state committee.

The letter was presented to the University by heirs of the late Miss Lenora Howard Watts, of Asheville, North Carolina, who was a 1919 graduate of the University.

A copy of the letter, taken from Ida Tarbell's biography of Lincoln, appears in the Abraham Lincoln Association's *Collected Works*, published in 1953. At that time the owner of the original letter was not known, and Miss Watts's family was unable to explain how the letter came into her possession.

Lincoln and Douglas Plaques at Knoxville

The original plaster mouldings used by sculptor Avard Fairbanks in making the plaques of Lincoln and Douglas now on the east side of Old Main at Knox College were installed in the old Knox County courthouse at Knoxville on November 15, 1959. Because the bronze plaques had not been finished in time for the centennial celebration of the Galesburg debate, October 6-7, 1958, these mouldings, painted a bronze color, substituted for them at that time and until the permanent plaques arrived. The installation at Knoxville was done by Max Goodsill, Knox College director of public relations, and Robert Sloane and Thomas Pickrel of Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., Knoxville.

Book Reviews

LINCOLN'S YOUTH: INDIANA YEARS, SEVEN TO TWENTY-ONE, 1816-1830

By Louis A. Warren. (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.: New York, 1959. Pp. xii, 298, index. \$6.00.)

For a third of a century Louis A. Warren has been rightfully regarded as an authority on the Kentucky phase of Lincoln's life. Now Dr. Warren has crossed the river and added Indiana to his field of mastery of the Lincoln story. This book has the unmistakable Warren touch: precision of statement, care in the handling of details and a careful evaluation of the sources for his statements.

In the thirty-three years since the publication of his *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood*, Dr. Warren has been perhaps the most fruitful and, undoubtedly, the most generous of the workers in the Lincoln vineyard. Through the Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, Dr. Warren, by means of publications (*Lincoln Lore* and the *Lincoln Kinsman*) and hospitable assistance to individual requests, has placed virtually all Lincoln writers and enthusiasts under obligation to him. The present reviewer has been the recipient of generous and valuable assistance from Dr. Warren and his Foundation on numerous occasions.

Dr. Warren's Indiana book is notable for a wealth of detail

which enables the reader to see the youthful Lincoln against an accurate background of pioneer Indiana. We have a detailed description of the erection of a log cabin, the construction and operation of a flatboat, and a careful examination of the cause and course of the dread "milk-sick." There is a complete and detailed description of the books read by the young Spencer County Lincoln. Father Thomas Lincoln is described as a typical pioneer farmer (see especially pages 84-87), a worthy sire for a notable son. Warren offers little that is new on such disputed points as the birth year of Thomas Lincoln (1776 or 1778) and the identity of the mother of Nancy Hanks Lincoln (Mrs. Lucy Shipley Hanks or Miss Lucy Hanks). But it was not the purpose of the author to write the last word on such matters. Rather, he sought to bring together the known facts about the life of Lincoln in Indiana in order to give the reader a clear and authentic picture of the influences and environmental factors that played a part in the growth of Lincoln from childhood to adulthood. This Dr. Warren has done

in a scholarly and entertaining manner.

It is unfortunate that the complete and valuable notes are grouped together at the end of

the volume. This, the present reviewer suspects, was done over Dr. Warren's protest.

CHARLES H. COLEMAN
Eastern Illinois University

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN HIS OWN WORDS

By William E. Baringer. (Falcon's Wing Press: Indian Hills, Colo., 1959. Pp. xxxii, 167. \$3.50.)

Dr. William E. Baringer, Executive Director, Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, has compiled a unique volume. He has collected a series of Lincoln documents arranged to bring out Lincoln's attitude or "philosophy" on a variety of subjects. Among the ten headings used are "On Politics and Politicians," "On Slavery and Its Problems," "On Liberty," "On Religion" and "On Labor."

The importance of this volume lies in the arrangement of the documents rather than in their contents. The Lincoln student will find many old friends among the papers selected by Dr. Baringer to illustrate his thesis. The section "On Politics and Politicians," for example, includes Lincoln's political announcement of March 9, 1832, "To the People of Sangamon County"; his letter to the editor of the *Sangamo Journal* of June 13, 1836 and his "wild onions" speech in the House of Representatives on July 27, 1848. On the subject of the wartime election

of 1864, President Lincoln's response to a serenade shortly after the election is quoted:

But the election was a necessity.

We can not have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us.

Lincoln put his finger on the weak spot in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 when he said, in a speech at Bloomington on September 26 of that year, as quoted by Dr. Baringer in the section "On Slavery and Its Problems,"

. . . there is not even the shadow of popular sovereignty in allowing the first settlers upon such soil to decide whether it shall be right in all future time to hold men in bondage there.

This volume has an enduring value. It should be found on the desk of all serious Lincoln students, especially those who are called upon to speak on the Lincoln theme.

CHARLES H. COLEMAN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, A NEW PORTRAIT

Edited by Henry B. Kranz. (G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1959. Pp. 252. \$4.00.)

In this symposium on Lincoln, the editor, Henry B. Kranz, playwright and journalist, has corralled an imposing list of some twenty-two scholars. But the result is not so much a "new portrait" as an appraisal of Lincoln by these eminent Lincolnians. A better title might have been "Lincoln Reconsidered" had not that already been used by David Donald, whose contribution to this volume, "Lincoln as Politician," presents a Lincoln that may really be new to some readers.

Except for a few chapters, however, this book will not reveal a new picture to those who are already familiar with Sandburg, Beveridge, Barton and Thomas. And to read this little volume at one sitting, as one could but should not, one will be struck by much repetition. Lincoln's clemency, his views on slavery, labor and government are told and retold. To any not aware of Lincoln's acumen in foreign affairs Jay Monaghan's chapter, "Lincoln, the Diplomat and Statesman," will be a "new portrait." T. V. Smith makes excellent use of an opportunity to describe democracy and democratic action. "If men understand in advance that the price of common action is compromise for all concerned, they will not so adamantly stick up in conference for their own interpretation of the

ideal. Lincoln knew this." Roy Basler's chapter, "Lincoln in Literature," briefly summarizes the efforts of biographers to portray this "man for the ages."

In the final chapter, "Abraham Lincoln: Great Image of America," Arnold Gates gives us the world's opinion of Lincoln, quoting such notable figures as Tolstoi, Ibsen, Garibaldi, Nehru and Jacques Maritain. As Barbara Ward, British authority on world affairs, whom he also quotes, says:

Lincoln will not dwindle to a historical personage. He is larger than his context and whatever his meaning is in the history of humanity, one generation and even one nation are not enough to decipher him. He is one of the very few of the world's leaders who stay alive.

These views of Lincoln by twenty-two present-day Lincoln authors comprise but 174 pages of this little volume. Part II (pages 177-252) is devoted to "Lincoln as His Contemporaries Saw Him," "Lincoln Speaks," "Lincoln Writes," "Lincoln, Man of Wisdom," "Lincoln, Man of Humor," "Chronology of Abraham Lincoln" and a "Lincoln Bibliography." In the bibliography, which is for the most part good, a notable omission is Otto Eisenschiml's *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?*

This book will be helpful to librarians when high school students want assistance in preparing papers on Lincoln as lawyer, mili-

tary strategist, politician, diplomat, man of letters, etc. It is unfortunate that there is no index.

S. AMBROSE WETTERBEE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN VERSUS JEFFERSON DAVIS

By Irving Werstein. (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.: New York, 1959. Pp. 272. \$5.00.)

In spite of its enticing title this book is more a traditional story of the Civil War than a comparative study of the two rival Presidents. Even though it offers little that has not been told before, it has considerable merit, due to its compact representation of the struggle and its exceptionally beautiful writing.

About the sympathy of the author there can be no doubt. He does not proclaim that he is partial to the North but shows it by the one-sided way in which he treats his subject. For example: The iniquities of General John Winder as military ruler of Richmond are pictured in gruesome colors and at considerable length, while those of Colonel Lafayette C. Baker, his brutal Washington counterpart, are disposed of in a few lines. And while Jefferson Davis is charged with Winder's appointment, that of Baker is not blamed on Lincoln but on his Secretary of War. Likewise, Davis is accused of having engaged in "pork-barreling," by selecting the members of his Cabinet from each of the original seceded states; but when Lincoln chose his official ad-

visers on similar political grounds, Werstein has nothing but praise for him. Furthermore, Davis' past is presented as that of a pampered pet, which is true enough, but Lincoln's not too enviable congressional record is skipped over in half of a short paragraph.

The volume contains a few inaccuracies which might have been avoided. Beauregard never laid siege to Fort Moultrie, for it had been abandoned by the time he took command at Charleston. The case against Fitz John Porter (without hyphen, please) can hardly be called flimsy; it was non-existent and based entirely on manufactured evidence. Also, Davis did not order an embargo on cotton, although he tacitly sanctioned an unofficial one. The assertion that the starving mill hands in England preferred to starve rather than work with southern slave-grown cotton is negated by the simple fact that they had worked with it for many years past without a twinge of conscience.

One may also take issue with the author's claim that it was General C. F. Smith who won Fort Donelson for Grant. If Lew Wal-

lace had not blocked the sortie of the garrison the day before, Smith would have had no opportunity to display his valor. And the statement that Beauregard "was not up to the demands" of the Battle of Shiloh will be disputed by all students who are aware of his motives for avoiding the risk of a final attack.

On the other hand, the reader will be enchanted by Werstein's sparkling style: "Jerry-built sheds dotted the grounds with their splintery ugliness." "[General Scott] grunted and wheezed like a blue-ribbon hog and was a caricature of the glorious days when he had been the country's golden warrior." Or: To the youth of the South "war was torchlight parades and singing; pretty girls in crinolines tossing flowers . . . it was carnival and Mardigras, too." But Werstein also knows how to express himself in short and pungent words, when the occasion calls for it: "A man who ventured out alone . . . after dark was either very brave or very drunk."

An author who can write so well may be forgiven for a few inaccuracies and for other shortcomings. It is unfortunate, however, that he tells so many anecdotes which have become overripe by constant repetition. There is the joke about Secretary Cameron's likelihood of stealing a red-hot stove; there is the overworked jibe that General Pope's headquarters were in his hindquarters. And,

of course Werstein quotes the quaint complaint that "the bottom is out of the tub," although before him others have done it innumerable times. Must such quips really be chewed over and over until they become nauseating?

Aside from its style the book's best features are some lesser known byplays of the war, which the author relates in an interesting and entertaining manner. Such episodes as that of the spavined horses which were foisted on the Northern government, and of the condemned carbines which crooked contractors bought at \$2.00 apiece and resold to the War Department at eleven times this price, give the volume a spicy flavor. So does a vivid description of the gambling parlors in Richmond, and of the strife between the Confederate Secretary of War and General Winder, both of whom issued passes to people anxious to get out of the city. Letters written by disillusioned Southern soldiers and their wives are also worthwhile items. "The Cause that had been born in the blaze of unselfish idealism, was being consumed by smouldering resentment," is Werstein's comment.

The book gives a detailed and more or less standard account of the Civil War up to the Battle of Gettysburg, then draws rapidly to a close, as if the author had become impatient and wanted to finish his work hurriedly. This abrupt

ending, however, does no material damage to the book's attractiveness.

Summing up, this critic ventures the opinion that Werstein's book is an excellent buy for the begin-

ner in Civil War lore; and while it lacks novelty for the sophisticated, it furnishes enjoyable reading for both.

OTTO EISENSCHIML
Chicago

SOUTH OF APPOMATTOX

By Nash K. Burger and John K. Bettersworth. (Harcourt Brace & Co.: New York, 1959. Pp. 376. \$5.75.)

What happened afterward? This is a question that occurs to many readers of history and occasionally prompts a trip to the library shelf for a glance at an encyclopedia.

In most cases, the information in a good encyclopedia suffices. There is almost always a sense of anticlimax in looking beyond the *big* moment on the stage of dramatic events.

That is why the task which Nash Burger and Professor Bettersworth undertook presents difficulties that the narrator of a Civil War campaign or the biographer of a general or statesman avoids. Perhaps the reading public *ought* to care more than it does about the days that came after, but the feeling of anticlimax is there. Years ago, Don Seitz wrote a book on the "also rans" — the men in our history who almost became President. It attracted little interest or attention.

The postwar careers of ten Confederate leaders are the subject matter of *South of Appomattox*. The reader learns more about each than he would from the encyclo-

pedia on his shelf, but the authors lack the space to develop the reader's interest in any one of the ten in the same way that a good biography would. It is doubtful if there is a more challenging writing assignment than a thumbnail biography — not even the short story.

Also, in treating the ten Confederates, there is some unavoidable duplication — setting the scene for each as of General Lee's surrender. For most readers who have any special interest in the Civil War period, there is much that is familiar ground, of course — especially in the chapters devoted to General Lee, Jefferson Davis and perhaps Wade Hampton. On the other hand, there was no man in this group better known in the nation before the war than John C. Breckinridge — and none forgotten more quickly. Mathew Fontaine Maury is another whose career during the war as well as afterward has received relatively little attention.

Naturally the reader senses at times the enthusiasms of the authors'. We would hazard the guess,

for example, that one of their favorites is their fellow Mississippian, L. Q. C. Lamar. On the other hand, admirers of the fiery Texan John B. Hood might question the charge that after taking over from Johnston and losing Atlanta, "he foolishly ran away." The march into Tennessee may have been foolish — although there were several "might-have-beens" there, too — but Hood didn't run away.

When picking up *South of Appomattox*, this reader thought it might prove another *Profiles in Courage*. But *Profiles* had the advantage of dealing in climactic decisions rather than of picking up the pieces afterward — an essential

part of national housekeeping but less exciting. And *Profiles* was loosely held together by the measuring stick applied to each man in a way that Burger and Bettersworth just miss, despite the statement in their preface that "we who have done these sketches would like to hope that all the portraits will in the end merge and that the reader will see not so much the individual trees, but the forest from which they were singled out."

Sorry, but the individual trees remained in the foreground for your reviewer.

O. J. KELLER
Springfield

THE WEB OF CONSPIRACY: THE COMPLETE STORY OF
THE MEN WHO MURDERED ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By Theodore Roscoe. (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1959.
Pp. xiv, 562. \$10.)

The author of *The Web of Conspiracy* is called a "Civil War buff" on the book's jacket. One connotation of the word "buff" is dabbler, and there is only one way I can describe this book: it is the work of a dabbler. Certainly it has its moments. There are well-written, well-documented and exact sections, but the author fails consistently in combining these qualities and even in maintaining them for a long section of this long book.

The latter part is fairly well documented from primary sources

and illustrates the vast amount of work that this volume represents. Earlier pages, where more controversial material is presented, are almost devoid of references.

Poore's and Pitman's transcriptions of the conspiracy trial have their individual defects and must be collated with the original transcript of the trial, but I think a serious defect of this book is that the author ignored them and relied almost completely on the preliminary examination of the witnesses and defendants at the trial. But at the same time he is to be

commended for bringing into print so much of the examination of Herold and Atzerodt.

An old-time assassination investigator once told me that Louis Weichmann is the key to many of the problems involved in Lincoln's death. This may or may not be true. In any case his testimony, which was very significant in condemning Mrs. Surratt, cannot be accepted without question. Reading this book, I get the impression that Roscoe considers Weichmann a loyal patriot and seems to gloss over the obvious problems of his testimony that other recent authors, like Helen Campbell and Guy Moore, are puzzled about. Though not a perfect book, Moore's *The Case of Mrs. Surratt* has some good features and is at least worth a mention in Roscoe's bibliography.

Pages 15-17 seem to give the author's view on the place of Weichmann in the whole assassination affair. If he can prove that Weichmann did inform Captain Gleason in March, 1865 of the conspirators' activities in detail, then I must concede that it is *possible* the testimony was true. Here, particularly, is one of the places where I would have liked to see footnotes.

It seems to me that Roscoe's use of Weichmann's testimony is based on the premise that the latter was loyal, as evidenced by his supposed informing to Captain Gleason. Others, and I list myself

among them, doubt very much that Weichmann was such a loyal informer and instead think his testimony at the conspiracy trial was the only thing that saved him from becoming the ninth conspirator on trial. I suggest that Roscoe compare the testimony of Weichmann at the conspiracy trial with the statements he made later at the trial of John H. Surratt.

The past fifty years have seen quite a development in historical method. Apparently Roscoe is not too aware of this situation, for his method of reasoning has no relation to primary sources. Instead, it seems to be directed to a preconceived conclusion. He does not weigh facts against one another and makes no distinction between primary and secondary sources.

In writing about John Surratt, Roscoe mentions that "of the immediate members of Booth's coterie, least is known about John Harrison Surratt, Jr." (page 50). This is a fatal mistake, for it shows those versed in the literature of Lincoln's assassination that the omission of some important works from Roscoe's bibliography was what we feared: he simply overlooked these books. The omission of *The Trial of John H. Surratt* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1867) is inexcusable. Many of the witnesses at the conspiracy trial also testified at the trial of Surratt. Their testimony on the two occasions was not always the same, and

the divergencies are interesting and important.

This book represents a vast amount of work, and for the ordinary reader not interested in accuracy of details, it is to be recommended as a fairly good but long account of Llincoln's assassination. At this point my recommendation ends. This is not a work of scholarship, as instanced by the many historical errors and

the list of bibliographical corrections glued in before the preface. If *The Web of Conspiracy* had been presented as a popular work, then the author could be excused, but the publisher's statement that the book is one of scholarship and its author an expert does not bear scrutiny.

Rev. ALFRED ISACSSON, O. Carm.
New York

FROM THE CANNON'S MOUTH: THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS
OF GENERAL ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS

Edited with an Introduction by Milo M. Quaife. (Wayne State University Press and the Detroit Historical Society: Detroit, 1959. Pp. x, 405, illustrations, maps, index. \$7.50.)

Civil War enthusiasts owe a vote of thanks to Milo M. Quaife for his able editing of the sparkling, original, vastly entertaining and highly informative letters of General Alpheus S. Williams to his daughters. Although much trash is being published these days under the guise of "original contributions," this volume will take its place on that very small shelf reserved for Civil War classics.

General Williams fought in almost every important theater of the war (and in most of the big battles), knew all of the northern *dramatis personae*, and wrote of them with a verve and style professional writers will envy. After emerging unharmed but badly shaken from Stonewall Jackson's charge at Chancellorsville, Wil-

liams wrote: "Human language can give no idea of such a scene; such an infernal and yet sublime combination of sound and flame and smoke, and dreadful yells of rage, of pain, of triumph, or of defiance."

Although proficient as both, Williams was neither a trained writer nor soldier. Before the war he had been a sometime lawyer and civic official, and always prominent citizen, of Detroit; an inactive participant in the Mexican War and a major in the militia. In August, 1861 President Lincoln appointed Williams a brigadier general of United States volunteers. The inexperienced general went on to distinguish himself in the Valley Campaign, at Antietam, Chancellorsville,

Gettysburg, and especially in Sherman's Atlanta Campaign and March to the Sea.

General Williams never received a promotion; Mr. Quaife (and this reviewer) finds the reason "difficult to understand." Williams himself was bitter over his lack of progress, and an inordinate amount of space in his letters is taken up with complaints about unfair treatment by newspaper reporters and higher officials.

Possibly he was not promoted because he was not professionally trained and had some unusual at-

titudes. The general was a humanitarian. "I am always glad when picket-firing stops," he commented in July, 1864: "It has no effect upon the results of war and is a miserable and useless kind of murder." He almost encouraged fraternization among his pickets and those of the enemy.

There are a very few Civil War letter books being published today that are worth the purchase price; *From The Cannon's Mouth* is one of these rarities.

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE
University of Wisconsin

THE SHAPING OF A BATTLE: GETTYSBURG

By James Stuart Montgomery. (Chilton Co.: Philadelphia, 1959. Pp. 259, 3 folded maps. \$5.95.)

THEY WHO FOUGHT HERE

By Bell Irvin Wiley and Hirst D. Milhollen. (The Macmillan Co.: New York, 1959. Pp. vii, 273. \$10.)

MR. LINCOLN'S GENERAL: U. S. GRANT; AN ILLUSTRATED AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Edited and arranged by Roy Meredith. (E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.: New York, 1959. Pp. 252. \$6.95.)

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES: ARIZONA, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO, AND UTAH

By Ray C. Colton. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1959. Pp. ix, 230. \$5.00.)

THE CONFEDERATE SOLDIER IN THE CIVIL WAR

Edited by Ben La Bree, Preface by John S. Blay. (Pageant Books, Inc.: Paterson, N.J., 1959. Pp. 482. \$22.50.)

Keeping up with the Civil War books is a major problem for the addict — and quite expensive, too. Seale Johnson, head of McCowat-

Mercer, publisher of Jackson, Tennessee, calls it the day of "print and reprint."

And the prices of the above list-

ings are not exceptional. There are others with such prices as \$47.50 and \$75 — and the possession brings joy to a Civil War book collector's heart.

The quality is just as variable as the prices. Especially in the field of reprints, one expects improvements by new research, annotation, indexing, illustration and introductions which add something to the background. Some books are sadly lacking in these respects.

Shaping of a Battle: Gettysburg is something of a surprise. Almost everybody has read a book on Gettysburg. Yet here is one that is a pleasant experience, mainly because of good writing. "Shaping" is not the correct word for the title, for it is again the story of Gettysburg. Montgomery gives it the writing touch that makes it seem new.

The human qualities of the military characters are well brought out. Skillful use is made of sidelights and anecdotes. The letters of Major General George Gordon Meade to his wife and of Major General George E. Pickett to his sweetheart are used to good effect. So are the conversations of General Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant General James Longstreet. The initiative of Chief of Engineers G. K. Warren in the occupation of Little Round Top is vividly told.

The book has thumbnail sketches of the postwar careers of some of

the Gettysburg generals. It also has three maps, 25 by 32 inches, one for each day of the battle. But the method of printing the maps almost obscures the detail. They can hardly be read without a magnifying glass.

They Who Fought Here is a well printed 8½ by 11 inch picture book. Bell Irvin Wiley, author of *Johnny Reb* and *Billy Yank*, is author of the text. Hirst Milhollen, curator of the photograph collection of the Library of Congress, is the picture editor. Their teamwork creates a book that emphasizes the faces and feelings and day-to-day life of the war. Some of the pictures are printed for the first time in a work of general circulation. It ranks with the best of the Civil War picture books of recent years.

Mr. Lincoln's General also is a picture book, 8½ by 11 inches. It is a biography of General Grant with the text composed of excerpts from Grant's own *Personal Memoirs*. The three hundred illustrations, some published for the first time, follow Grant from his boyhood in Ohio to Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Roy Meredith has achieved a well-balanced book by presenting Grant's career in the Mexican War and the western states equally with his civilian and Civil War days.

The Civil War in the Western Territories is a contribution to the

over-all picture of the Civil War. Ray Colton wasn't satisfied with the books he had read dealing with the subject. So he winnowed them, researched anew and came up with a book that should be satisfactory to most Civil War fans.

Colton deals with an isolated area of the war, but it, too, had its decisive battles. The Confederate aim was to open and hold a corridor from Texas to California, with access to mineral wealth and army supplies. This the Union was determined to prevent, and did, with volunteers mainly from Colorado, California and New Mexico aiding the regulars.

The Union victory at Glorieta Pass, in northern New Mexico, March 26 to 28, 1862, has been called the "Gettysburg of the West." Other battles were those at Valverde, Apache Pass, Picacho Pass, and Peralta. When the Federals had pushed the Confederates back to Texas, they had to fight Indians, whose hopes had risen. These Indian troubles resulted in the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado and the Battle of Spanish Fork Canyon in Utah.

Colton has recorded the political affairs concurrent with the military actions.

The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War is a jumbo luxury book. It has a 16 by 11½ inch page on glossy stock — which makes it quite a heavy book. There are 862 illustrations — portraits, maps and battle scenes — including notable reproductions from Kurz and Allison, the midwestern rival of Currier and Ives.

The book is perhaps the most complete and authentic account extant of the Confederate side of the war. The story of campaigns and battles is told by Robert E. Lee, P. G. T. Beauregard, "Stonewall" Jackson and other generals right on down the line, through their orders, reports and writings. The forces in battle and tables of officers are given. There is a section on the Confederate Navy.

The original book was produced in Louisville in 1895 as a counter to the flood of Union-sponsored books at that time. Copies have been scarce. The present issue is an exact copy of the 1895 book.

GILBERT TWISS
Chicago

FLAME O' DAWN: THE STORY OF REVEREND JOHN M. CAMRON WHO BOARDED LINCOLN AT NEW SALEM

By Julia A. Drake. (Vantage Press: New York, 1959. Pp. 220. \$3.95.)

This story, which covers the breadth of the United States from "the hills of Georgia" to Califor-

nia, includes some interesting mentions of New Salem in the period when Abraham Lincoln

boarded with the family of Presbyterian minister John Camron.

"To their hospitable home came young Abe. In this book," the jacket tells us, "we see him there as he learns the principles of surveying from John Camron, and finds warm companionship in the Camrons' inner circle, which included eleven charming daughters" and one son.

Speaking of daughters, one notes that the stork had a habit of paying an annual visit to the Camron home and leaving another daughter (on one occasion twin daughters). The Camrons wished for sons, but the Lord willed otherwise and, with one exception, bestowed daughters upon them. The naming of the daughters came to be a major problem, because they always gave the tiny maidens double names — such as Eliza Arminda — and the father and mother almost ran out of names.

This biography of John Camron is not uniformly pleasant reading. Often "choppy," the narrative includes too much of the American scene, for, after all, it follows the trek of the Camrons across the nation from Georgia to Kentucky, to Illinois, to Iowa, thence across the Great Plains and the mountains all the way to Portland, Oregon (then being surveyed) and on to California, where they finally settled. It would be difficult for any author to be consistently interesting with a geographical back-

ground of this magnitude. Furthermore, it is sometimes difficult to keep the characters straight, for there are too many of them. Miss Drake succeeds, however, in giving us interesting glimpses of the hardships of the pioneers as they essayed the task of conquering the wilderness in numerous states.

Miss Drake falls for the Ann Rutledge story, *in toto*, in spite of the fact that scholars in recent years have discounted this charming legend of pioneer love as portrayed in Billy Herndon's biography of Lincoln. Since Ann was a cousin of the Camron children, she too had ready admission into Camron family circles. Of Ann's death, the author writes: "Ann slipped away to her home above. Abe could not bear it. He rushed out of the house, his soul crushed. Why had a just God done this? Taken away forever his beloved? Camron followed him into the nearby woods. Grasping his hand, he knelt with the distraught youth, giving a poignant prayer. Then he quoted many passages from the Scriptures revealing deep hope and faith" (page 98).

The Ann Rutledge story is one which will not down. Crushed to earth, it rises again and again, in the name of a sleek passenger train and a lovely college hall. The Ann Rutledge episode is one of the most beautiful — and also one of the most incorrect — in Lincoln annals.

I do, however, like the portrayal of the Rev. John Camron. In our studies of the settlement of the great Midwest we have often overlooked the courageous ministers who braved the discomforts of the wilderness to found churches and colleges, here, there, everywhere. True enough, we have abundant literature about a few ministers, like Peter Cartwright, for instance. But what about the scores of other able men?

We owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the pioneer preachers like John Camron who wrought such great things for the Lord and

for the settlement and development of the vast American continent. Miss Drake does not cite her source materials as a historian should. True, she includes a list of "key sources" at the close of her volume, such as county and church records, early land laws, minutes of church meetings, county records, census returns and interviews with descendants of pioneers, but it is impossible from such a general listing to verify sources for specific incidents. The omission of an index, as in this book, is always a grave error.

C. C. BURFORD
Urbana

THE ORDEAL OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

By George Kimball Plochmann. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1959. Pp. 662. \$5.75.)

UNIVERSITY PORTRAIT

By Carolyn Gassan Plochmann. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1959. Nine paintings. \$5.50.)

It may be said that Southern Illinois University is not only an institution of higher learning but also a state of mind. The latter phenomenon is probably due to the peculiar relationship between the school and the region which it serves, since Southern is the only college or university in that portion of Illinois known traditionally as "Egypt." Beyond this marriage of school and community (a situation in itself rare in the relationship of town and gown) lies a growing regional entity whose citizens are as proud of their heri-

tage as they are cognizant of the region's poverty of resources. This growing provincialism, if one can call it that, has produced a kind of loyalty found nowhere else in the state. A good southern Illinoisan, Thomas Wolfe to the contrary, does go home again; and the older he becomes, the stronger is the call.

There is no question, however, as to the amazing changes which have taken place in Carbondale. They have brought about, least of all, the metamorphosis of Southern Illinois Normal University in-

to Southern Illinois University. Here was a school which, fifteen years ago, would barely muster five hundred students. It is true that this figure was affected by the war, for enrollment had been somewhat higher in prewar years. Yet, today, the student body (including campus locations away from Carbondale) approximates some eleven thousand individuals. Twenty years ago, as a normal school, Southern could grant only the teacher training degree. Now it is possible for a student to work toward a doctorate from the same institution.

Not only has this stunning growth had its effect upon the innocent taxpayer of Illinois, but the present administration of the university is not remiss in gauging the extent of this singular revolution. There is some virtue in looking backward, especially if one has survived such a change; and it was in this spirit that George Kimball Plochmann, a member of Southern's faculty, was given a grant by the school to review the events which have made it one of the largest universities in the nation.

In many ways, Southern Illinois University has been a most fortunate institution. One way, of course, is that it is the only school serving such a large area, and thus it was bound to grow in size. Another, and Plochmann points this out, is that Southern has never had a really bad president. This is

a rare and magnificent thing, as many a good college man knows. Yet, merely not to have had presidents was the least of Southern's luck; it went deeper than that, for the school actually had three fine administrators, all coming in the years since 1913: Henry William Shryock, who directed the school from 1913 to 1935, Roscoe Pulliam, president from 1935 to 1944, and Delyte Morris, president from 1947 to the present.

The first of these, Henry William Shryock, belongs to an age gone by, an age when a university president had no call to be half-huckster and half-entrepreneur. His sole duty was to run the school in the most sensible and logical way possible on the money which the state legislature gave him each biennium.

It was a quiet age — one which did not demand soaring attendance figures and hectic assembly-line methods as proofs of quality in education. Here was a college president who did not really want to be a college president, yet had to be, for he was far and away the most capable man on the campus. Plochmann obviously admires him, and so does this reviewer. Shryock was a lonely man who translated Molière quite adequately, loved to scan Tennyson, and could be seen trudging home at twilight (he always worked from dawn to dusk) carrying an armful of the newest books acquired by the library. Here was a man

who abhorred the proliferation of courses and the trend toward vocationalism in our schools. The latter, he once said, would lead us to a "certain drift of emphasis to the material side of life," a condition which could only be thwarted by an emphasis upon "poetic idealism."

One of the virtues of Plochmann's book is its detail. He is a writer who probes — who is not quite content to pour forth factual chronology. His descriptions of the Pulliam era are crisp, colorful and clear. Roscoe Pulliam was an ebullient, cocky man with a marvelous capacity for growth. His early years at Southern were rocky, principally because of his own enthusiasm. As he matured, the picture changed. He became, as one faculty member phrased it, "the finest college president in the country."

After 1940 Pulliam was able to achieve, by a most fortuitous combination of circumstances, a curious unity between the college and the area community, and a kind of loyalty of student body to the cause of the school rarely seen anywhere in American higher education.

The years of Delyte Morris have been great ones for Southern. He is, as described by Plochmann, "kind and expansive in temperament. . . ." His opportunistic bent and his ability to express himself ably have served the university in good stead. Not every college

president could handle the school's peculiar problems in a like manner.

The virtues of Plochmann's book are many. He has a likely turn of phrase, he has collected an enormous mass of information, and he has combined both into a readable, interesting story. It will probably appeal more to Southern's loyal alumni than to those who have little or no acquaintance with the university.

The book has its faults also. It is slightly pretentious, a little overlong, and verges on being a sociological as well as historical study. Still, for those whose hearts belong to what Roscoe Pulliam used to call "the postage stamp campus," these are failings which can be easily overlooked.

University Portrait, a collection of nine paintings centered on the Southern theme and done by Mrs. George Plochmann, is a companion publication to *The Ordeal of Southern Illinois University*. It has a foreword by R. Buckminster Fuller, the noted architect who is now a research professor at the university, and a biographical sketch by Blake-More Godwin, the director of the Toledo Museum of Art. The latter piece seems poorly written, but this is of small concern, for the quality of the paintings is the important thing. They are expertly done.

VICTOR HICKEN
Western Illinois University

IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN EMIGRATION, 1850-1900
By Arnold Schrier. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis,
1958. Pp. x, 210. \$4.50.)

Some years ago in his *Growth of American Thought*, Merle Curti suggested the intriguing theme, "America Recrosses the Ocean." Arnold Schrier in this compact work delineates the impact upon Ireland of the mass emigration from that country to the United States. Probably nowhere else was the effect of the New World on the Old more apparent and profound.

Schrier divides his book into four sections. The first outlines the characteristics of the emigration and the motives prompting the emigrants. Chances for steady employment and high wages constituted the major lure. Excerpts from correspondence of the migrants emphasize this. These writers, however, stressed the necessity of hard work, harder than that performed in the homeland, if success were to be attained.

The second part of the work is the most important. It describes the results of the migration upon Ireland. Although public opinion, reflected in passages from press and pulpit, strongly opposed emigration, its economic effect was certainly beneficial. Larger landholdings and some increase in the opportunities for employment were the major gains from the movement which came close to halving Ireland's population in a fifty-year

span. Schrier notes, however, other factors that influenced the decrease of population and the increase of wealth. Later marriages and improved land laws were important contributory factors.

The third section summarizes the impact of returns, monetary and human, from the United States. The flow of money back to Ireland was most impressive. The greater amounts came from the poorer and more recent emigrants. Much of it supplied passage for further emigration and set up an "endless chain." Some of the funds were spent for capital improvements, but more went for the amelioration of the difficult conditions of Irish life. The returned "Yank" surprisingly had much less influence than did the monetary returns. The percentage of emigrants who returned to Ireland was small, and these, whether visitors or permanent returnees, had little real effect on the local scene.

Conclusions, statistics, footnotes (unfortunately), bibliography and index are lumped in the final section. These reflect the scope of the author's research. Census data, agricultural surveys, postal and financial reports, were most valuable. A wide variety of Irish newspapers was examined. Personal information was sought through

questionnaires, interviews and letters relevant to emigration. Of the millions of letters sent, Schrier was able to discover only 222. The author's best work was done on the Irish economy, for which the material was more readily available. In the areas of opinion, society and customs, the work is less definitive and less satisfactory.

It must be concluded that the emigration of the Irish to the United States was of great aid in improving economic conditions in Ireland both by reducing population and providing monetary remittances. The transit of ideas from America apparently was slight. Irish emigrants adopted American ways which were not transmitted back to the more con-

servative homeland. American money strengthened the Catholic Church and gave backbone to the Fenian movement and the Land League. But religion and politics in Ireland remained focused on local issues and received little inspiration from the American scene. Limited education and a provincial spirit probably lessened these noneconomic influences.

Arnold Schrier has written a readable and thoughtful work. The University of Minnesota Press is to be complimented both for making this monograph available and for the excellent manner in which it has been done.

FRANK W. CROW
*Wisconsin State College
Stevens Point*

PRAIRIE GRASS DIVIDING

By James Iverne Dowie. (*Augustana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XVIII. Rock Island, Ill., 1959. Pp. xvi, 262.)

In this book James Iverne Dowie tells of the background, origins and early history of Luther College, Wahoo, Nebraska.

The feverish promoters and fertile prairies of Nebraska attracted a considerable number of Swedish Lutherans during the last half of the nineteenth century. (The occasional Swedish divine, indeed, found it profitable to become a land agent on the side.) In Nebraska the Swedish settlers faced the usual pioneering hardships — prairie fires, fickle markets, grass-

hoppers and years of drought. When organized in 1870, the Kansas Conference of the Augustana Church included the congregations of these Nebraska "landsmen." Fifteen years later they demanded their own conference, fearing in part that Kansan loyalty to Bethany College would harm the church academy founded in 1883 at Wahoo. From this point in his narrative Dr. Dowie concentrates on the early history of the school and the men who shaped it, particularly S. M. Hill,

BOOK REVIEWS

who was acting president during the 1880's and 1890's. Enrollments were small at Luther in those years, the plumbing facilities highly inadequate, the threat of closing never far distant; but the school survived to produce eighty-five students who became ministers and three hundred and twelve who became teachers in the fifty years between 1883 and 1933. The Swedish immigrants in Nebraska hoped that Luther would play a key role in transmitting the values of an older culture to their sons and daughters. Doubtless its major function lay in easing the transition to a new one.

This book has many virtues. Professor Dowie submits further evidence that local history need be neither parochial nor antiquarian, skillfully relating the history of a tiny church college to the epic of pioneering in the Middle West, to the history of the Lutheran Church in America and to the story of immigrant acculturation. The study is sympathetic in tone but at the same time objective. It shows respect for the pioneer pastors without glossing over their failings. There is a skillful and even moving vignette of S. M. Hill, militant prohibitionist and gentle teacher,

who ignored the regular assignments on occasion to lecture on Christian socialism to students whose strongly orthodox Republican parents had sent them to Luther for a conservative education.

Master of a pleasant, if slightly florid, style, Professor Dowie has a quick eye for a good quotation and the knack of phrasing an apt allusion. He has based his book upon research in the Luther records, personal papers, Swedish language newspapers and a great variety of other materials. No particular archives or manuscript collection, however, seems to have yielded great riches; this no doubt accounts for the occasional thinness of the narrative. It is less easy to explain its occasional discursiveness. The book has its share, too, of minor slips, including: a dot map on page 74 without explanation of the frequency ratios involved; mention on page 109 of O. B., rather than Preston B., Plumb as a Kansas senator; and an anachronistic reference to the Kincaid Act (page 205). In sum, however, this is a fine book of which the writer can be proud.

ALLAN G. BOGUE
State University of Iowa

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The Historical Library's Bishop Philander C. Chase Collection, mentioned in the Autumn issue of this *Journal*, has been augmented by the addition of numerous newspaper articles and pictures related to Jubilee College. Along with these is a complete file of *The Motto*, a pocket-size pamphlet published from 1847 to 1852 for the Illinois Episcopal Diocese and Jubilee College. Much of the material in this publication was written by Bishop Chase and complements information found in his personal correspondence.

Recently placed on loan in the Historical Library is the thirty-one-volume diary of Hannah Peabody, a spinster schoolteacher who lived and taught in Carrollton for more than thirty years. Born in Littleton, New Hampshire, in 1821, Miss Peabody arrived in Chicago in 1855. There she was immediately beset with what might seem to be present-day problems: "There had been a row, and a policeman had shot a man, and there was such rushing and screaming I hardly knew what to do. I was taken to one depot and my baggage to another [sound familiar?] but by the kind assistance of a policeman I succeeded in getting on the right train, with

my baggage, but not till they had started. I was so much excited I did not think of the danger in jumping on as I did."

Supplementing Miss Peabody's diary is that of her brother, David, for the years 1854, 1859, 1862 and 1867. In 1849 he made an overland trip from Illinois to California. The Gold Rush was on, but he was not a successful prospector.

A lawyer and surveyor, Peabody moved to Kansas in 1857, and there he participated in the work of the Underground Railroad, engaged in border warfare and eventually served in the Union Army. Both sets of diaries have been made available to the Library by Burton P. Sears of Evanston, a grandson of Peabody.

Rex Hieronymus of Chicago has donated to the Library the diary of his grandfather, Benjamin R. Hieronymus, another participant in the Civil War. Originally a farmer, Hieronymus later became a prominent Illinois banker, serving the Illinois National Bank as well as the Franklin Life Insurance Company in Springfield. The volumes which comprise this day-by-day account start November 16, 1863 and end July 15, 1865.

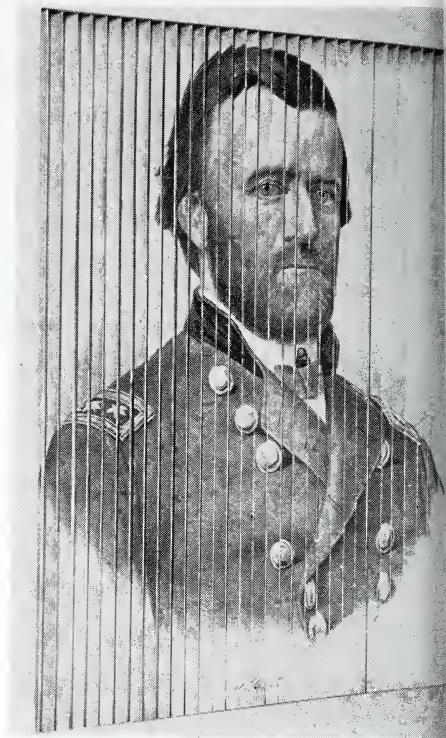
Sergeant, later Lieutenant, Hieronymus was a very optimistic

RECENT ACQUISITIONS

man, as one of his first entries indicates: "I believe that the result of the 'Slave Rebellion' will be the establishment of the institution of this country on the everlasting foundations of *Truth & Justice!!*"

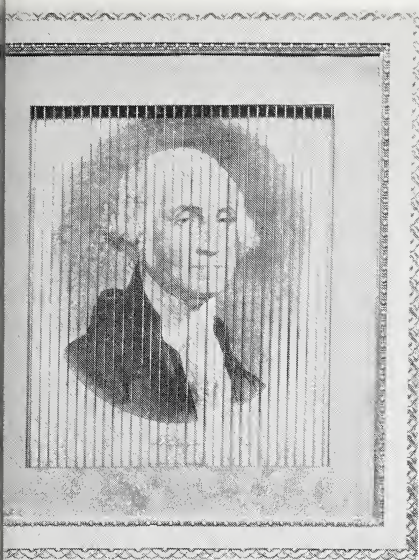
His optimism was especially evident on New Year's Day, 1864: "1863 is no more — but to us it will never die. . . . History will bear the life and death struggle of 1863 on living pages. The shout of *Freedom* and *Victory* is ringing through the land and the bands of four million bond[s] men have been loosened, never to be tightened again. Dread is over and the dawn of future glory is breaking. Peace will bring with it universal *Freedom, Justice* and *Truth!* 1864 comes full of promise and light of hope."

Hieronymus was to experience another year and one-half of war, and he describes numerous scenes of battles and skirmishes in which he was engaged. None of these experiences dampened his enthusiasm and patriotism, however, and he concludes: "So ends one of the grandest wars ever known. The Flag of the Union waves today from every fort throughout the land. The supremacy of the laws and the majesty of our Republican institutions have been vindicated to an impartial world. We stand today the mightiest & most powerful nation on earth. I do not regret the day I enlisted. The 3 years has [*sic*] been one long lesson — from which I hope to profit."

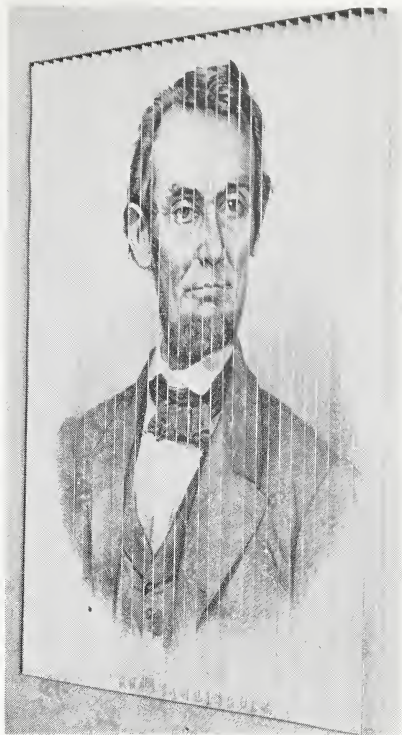


Many people walking through the lobby of the Historical Library these days stop in their tracks as if they were "seeing things" — and they are; what they see is a three-in-one picture of Lincoln, Grant and Washington. On entering the room the visitor will glance around and note a picture of Grant on the wall to the left; by the time he has walked half way through, his eyes will stray back to the picture, but this time it is Washington he sees. Then he will stop and examine the picture from all three angles, now seeing Lincoln from the right.

This startling picture is a combination of three lithographic



When viewed from the left, Grant's picture appears on the Currier and Ives three-way presidential memento. Washington is in the middle and Lincoln's portrait is seen from the right.



prints — those of Lincoln and Grant were pasted back to back, then cut in strips about an inch wide; the strips, in turn, were mounted at right angles over the portrait of Washington. The picture is set in a deep gold and white frame, twenty-two inches wide by twenty-six inches high. It is one of the products of Currier and Ives, "Print Makers to the American People"; it is not dated but is believed to have been made within the decade after the Civil War.

This unusual presidential memento was presented to the Historical Library by Mrs. S. Leigh Call of Springfield, Illinois, and

Mrs. Barton Corneau of Ogonquit, Maine, who formerly lived in Springfield. They purchased it at an Ogonquit home that was being dismantled.

Such Currier and Ives three-way prints are rare, and the others that are known to exist have different combinations of pictures — one has Lincoln, Grant and Sherman, and in another Sheridan is substituted for Sherman. The Emory University Library, Georgia, has a three-in-one picture of the Confederate leaders, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis and Stonewall Jackson.

BERNARD WAX

News and Comment

Fort Armstrong on Rock Island

Pictured on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is Fort Armstrong, which was built in 1816-1817 at the lower end of Rock Island on limestone bluffs which rose thirty feet above the Mississippi River. This is one of the sites on Rock Island that will be visited by members of the Illinois State Historical Society on their Spring Tour, May 7-8.

Major Stephen H. Long, who visited the fort in 1817, described it as having two "faces" only — each approximately three hundred feet long — the other two sides "being sufficiently fortified . . . by the cliffs." Blockhouses, two stories high and from twenty-one to twenty-six feet square, stood at the northeast, southeast and southwest corners. The sides of the fort were formed principally by the rear walls of barracks and storage buildings, and the spaces between the buildings were "fortified by walls of stone, about eight feet high, supporting a breast-work of timber five feet high." On the two open sides "detached from other parts of the works, are situated two other buildings sixty-four feet long and sixteen wide, containing four rooms each, designed for officers'

quarters." In the corner between the officers' quarters "is a two story building with low wings designed as quarters for the commanding officer, and offices for the use of the garrison. The body of the building is furnished with piazzas on both sides, and the whole combines a degree of taste and elegance worthy of imitation at all other military posts in this part of the country." Outside the fort were a smith's shop, sutler's and contractor's stores, a stable and a few other buildings.

Fort Armstrong was garrisoned by United States troops until 1836, and then for the next two years it was headquarters for Sauk and Fox Indian agent Joseph M. Street. From 1840 until 1845 the fort housed a government armory. The island was not again used by the government until the Civil War. In the meantime, in 1855 fire had destroyed all of the old fort except two blockhouses. In 1863 construction was begun on a United States Arsenal on the island, and the same year a prison for Confederate soldiers was established there.

The arsenal is still there, a government cemetery serves as a reminder of the Civil War, and one

of the Fort Armstrong block-houses has been reconstructed. These, and the 127-year-old home

of Colonel George Davenport, will be visited by the Historical Society members.

Two New Local Societies Formed

Since publication of the *Winter Journal*, announcements have been made of the organization of two new local historical societies. One is the Batavia Historical Society, and the other is the Tazewell County Society.

The Batavia group was launched on November 17, at a preliminary meeting held in the home of Miss Eunice Shumway, when a committee of three — Robert Glidden, Raymond Patzer and

Mrs. Walter Wood — was named to study organizational details. John Gustafson presided at this session.

Trustees of the Tazewell organization, named in December, are Vera Dillie, William Hoffman, Gary Planck, Gene Sangalli, Dale Sarver and R. K. Taubert, all of Pekin; and Thomas Pinkham of East Peoria, Howard Simpson of Mackinaw and Forest Altine of Morton.

Publication Commemorates Cherry Mine Disaster

An attractive pamphlet entitled "Memorial of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Cherry Mine Disaster, November 13, 1909" was published by the St. Bede Abbey Press in 1959 and may be purchased from Father Anthony Wehrmann, O.S.B., Holy Trinity Church, Cherry, Illinois. The price is \$1.00.

The twenty-page history was written by Anton Demichelis, and is handsomely illustrated with sixteen photographs — thirteen taken at the time of the disaster.

The publication is dedicated to the victims of the fire which trapped 259 miners in a shaft of the St. Paul Coal Company in northeastern Bureau County.

Woodlawn Holds Centennial Celebration

Woodlawn, a history-conscious community on Chicago's South Side, observed its centennial in 1959 with a series of four special events based on the theme "A Backward Glance — A Forward Look."

The centennial committee, headed by Floyd Mulkey, was organized June 15 at the Woodlawn Regional Library, 6247 Kimbark Avenue. Judge George Quilici of the Municipal Court, who was born and reared in Woodlawn,

was the principal speaker at the organization meeting. Other members of the general committee were Dr. A. L. Reynolds, Miss Dorothy Gatchell and Robert Swan.

The first settler in what is now Woodlawn was James Wadsworth, whose home was at present-day Woodlawn Avenue and Sixty-third Street. The community did not become a part of Chicago until 1889. Before that time, however, when the area was still farm land, a Woodlawn cemetery was the burial place for Confederate soldiers from nearby Camp Douglas, where Civil War prisoners were confined (see pages 37-63). In 1893 Woodlawn was the site of the World's Columbian Exposition. Three years later William Jennings Bryan made his famous "cross of gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention in the Coliseum in the 1500 block of East Sixty-third Street.

These events and other high points in the community's history were dramatized in a pageant, by Lee Herbert Salisbury and Mary

Elizabeth Vroman Gibson, which was presented at the James Wadsworth School on November 20.

Other centennial activities included an exposition and reception held Sunday, October 18, at the Woodlawn Boys Club. State Senator Marshall Korshak was the speaker for this occasion.

An illustrated lecture on the Columbian Exposition was presented by Vernon Slater, a former resident of Woodlawn, at another centennial event — a November 9 meeting sponsored jointly by the centennial committee and the Associated Clubs of Woodlawn.

A special musical program in honor of the community's first hundred years was presented at Knox Hall of the First Presbyterian Church at 6400 Kimbark Avenue on November 15. The concert committee included Mrs. Floyd Mulkey, Miss Rio Burke, Mrs. Charles Carson, Mrs. Frank Dudley and Mrs. W. V. Terry. Soloists and choral groups of the community sang typical songs from every decade of the past century.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

The centennial of the first oil well in America was observed at the November 8 meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society, held at Haskell House, Alton. Mrs. Horace Ash, program chairman, presented a brief history of the oil industry, and representatives of

Standard and Sinclair refineries at Wood River showed films. The program also featured a display of early American lamps.

Recent acquisitions of the Aurora Historical Society's museum include a "sod buster" plow, dis-

covered at Montgomery, Illinois and presented to the museum by Howard Wyman. The plow, placed on public exhibit in the museum's carriage house in October, is typical of those used by pioneers to break through the tough roots of the prairie sod before the first planting. Old-timers recall that several span of oxen were frequently required to pull the plows.

Magnolia Manor, home of the Cairo Historical Association, again became the society's "Holiday House" and was festively decorated for two special week ends of exhibits and social activity in December.

Virginia B. Herbert of Cairo, a director of the State Historical Society, reports that the 1959 event — the seventh — was the most successful since the custom was inaugurated. More than 1,500 persons toured Holiday House, she said, many coming from as far as sixty to eighty miles away. The theme of the decorations was "Snowbird Fantasy," and pink and blue birds were nestled among the traditional Christmas greens that ornamented mantels and doors.

Opened this year for the first time was the restored late Victorian kitchen of the Manor — with its perforated tin safe, zinc sink, and work table, flour bin and chopping block of oak. Walnut shelves hold cast iron pots, fluting irons and coffee grinders;

a hooded kerosene lamp (now wired for electricity) hangs in the center of the kitchen, and bracket lamps are mounted on the side walls.

Recreational facilities of the area were discussed by President Karl B. Lohmann at the November 30 meeting of the Champaign County Historical Society in the courthouse annex. In addition to describing such activities as the Twin City Chautauqua and the Champaign County Fair, Lohmann told of picnicking areas like Homer Park, which reached the height of its popularity in the early 1900's. At that time as many as nineteen interurban cars served the park daily.

The story of the Plymouth Colony's Pilgrims was presented in a documentary film, narrated by Historian Archie Jones, at the Chicago Historical Society auditorium on Sunday, December 20.

Hugh G. Dugan of Hinsdale, the new president of the Du Page County Historical Society, succeeds Helmut A. Berens of Elmhurst, who held the post for fifteen years. Also chosen a new officer by the board of directors is H. Gilbert Foote, West Chicago, who replaces Michael Kross, Elmhurst.

Mrs. F. W. Schulze, Villa Park, was chairman of the Society's annual harvest dinner, Friday, No-

vember 6, at the Woodridge Country Club. The dinner had a western theme, with music by Art Murdoch, who played songs of the West on the guitar. Don Russell, of Elmhurst and Chicago, an authority on Western Americana, spoke on the subject "Buffalo Bill and the Wild West."

Mrs. Hilda Feldhake told of her research in old Effingham newspapers at the State Historical Library in her talk before the November meeting of the Effingham Regional Historical Society. When the Library's current microfilming project is completed, she said, the original papers will be given to the Effingham organization. Society President Bliss Loy presided at the meeting, which was held in the Effingham County courthouse.

The Evanston Historical Society has at last worked out agreements with Northwestern University and the city of Evanston for acquisition of the Charles Gates Dawes mansion at 225 Greenwood Street, Evanston.

Northwestern University, which owns the home, has leased it to the Society for \$1.00 a year, and the Society, in turn, has sublet an acre and a quarter of land surrounding the home to the Evanston Playground and Recreational Board, for use as a public park. The \$3,300 the Society will receive from the city will pay for maintenance of the structure as

Society headquarters. The agreement met with some opposition in the city council, which warned that the lease arrangement would not necessarily be a continuing one and that further methods must be found for making the Society self-supporting.

Current officers of the Society are Edson M. Brock, president; Jared L. Johnson and Philip A. Danielson, vice-presidents; John D. Emery, secretary; and George H. Tomlinson, treasurer.

Leon Wheeler, first president of the Geneva Historical Society, was principal speaker at the Society's meeting on December 6 in the Wheeler Room of the Geneva Public Library. His subject was Dr. John Bath Gully, an English immigrant who was one of the city's early doctors.

The early schools of Jefferson County were the subject of a talk by Dr. Andy Hall before the County Historical Society at a dinner meeting December 8 at West Salem Church. George N. Webb presided in the absence of President J. L. Buford.

Indiana novelist Dorothy Fry Arbuckle recounted legends of the Kankakee River area at the annual fall meeting of the Kankakee County Historical Society, November 28.

Winner of the Dodd, Mead national librarians' contest in 1954

for her novel *The After-Harvest Festival*, Mrs. Arbuckle is now working on a Civil War novel set in the Indiana wilderness.

A portrait of Revolutionary War General Henry Knox, for whom Knox County was named, was formally presented to Knox County Historical Sites, Inc., at that organization's sixth annual meeting in the old Knox County courthouse on December 9.

The Knox likeness is a copy of the famed Gilbert Stuart portrait of the General and was presented to the museum by Carlisle Smith, who acquired the painting from A. Edward Guertin, curator of Knox's restored home at Montpelier, Vermont.

Officers and directors of the Society were also named at the December meeting. Mrs. Irving Garcelon was elected to her seventh term as president; Edwin Gumm was chosen first vice-president; Gene F. Hebard, secretary; Mrs. P. J. Sharples, treasurer; and Jesse R. Peck, second vice-president and museum chairman.

Directors include Mrs. Garcelon, Mr. Peck, Mrs. Sharples and the following additional members: Miss Mabel Corbin, Mrs. L. W. Cramer, Mrs. Mary Creighton, Ralph Lucas, Thomas Pickrel, Mrs. Willard Sipes and Alexander Summers.

Reminiscences of two Lake County old settlers highlighted

the November 16 meeting of the Fort Hill Historical Society, held at the Ivanhoe Church.

The speakers were John Bartlett and Miss Alice E. Smith, 92, a retired teacher but one who is still active enough to do private tutoring. Miss Smith discussed her experiences in the county's early schools. Bartlett, who lives at Diamond Lake, is the grandson of Charles Bartlett, one of the county's first commissioners.

Research papers by members of the organization continue to be a feature of meetings of the Land of Goshen Historical Society. Miss Jessie Springer, who is also curator of the Madison County Museum, addressed the group on Sunday, December 6. Her subject was the early music of Edwardsville, 1870-1890, and her entire paper was later published by the *Edwardsville Intelligencer*.

Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Isselhardt, hosts for the meeting, were assisted by Mrs. Eugene Schmidt.

Mrs. Isselhardt presented the November program on the history of the Edwardsville Police Department. Her report was also published in a subsequent *Intelligencer*. The meeting was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ted Werner, with Mrs. Nellie Graham and Miss Lena Graham as hostesses.

Mrs. Louise Ahrens, Society president, was chairman for both meetings.

December displays of the Madison County Historical Museum in the courthouse at Edwardsville featured a Christmas tree decorated in the manner of the county's German immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century. The tree was strung with popcorn and cranberries, and decorated with candles and with cookies and nuts wrapped in silver paper.

Also shown were toys of the 1870 period, from the Willis Terry estate; a bisque doll of the 1890's, owned by Mrs. John Schneider; a doll with a china head, owned by Mrs. William Shindel. Other unusual items on exhibit included cardboard dolls in French peasant costumes, a toy spade and pewter doll dishes.

Miss Jessie Springer is curator of the museum.

The final program of the Marshall County Historical Society's series on Lincolniana, in observance of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial, took place November 30 in the county courthouse at Lacon. Miss Louise Love of Wenona, the speaker, presented a review of Lloyd Lewis' *Myths after Lincoln*.

Ray Litchfield of Toluca, Society president, conducted the business meeting preceding the review.

Within a few weeks last fall, the new Mercer County Historical Society added more than twenty-five members to its roster. Dues are \$5.00 a year.

The Society's December 1 meeting was held in the Essley-Noble Memorial Building. The program was presented by community service groups.

Mrs. Dorothy Baxter, Mrs. Eva Wenger and Wayne L. Earls were appointed to nominate officers for the Nauvoo Historical Society at that organization's October 20 meeting, held at the high school.

Mrs. Wenger spoke to the group on the subject "Old Music Boxes and Other Old Instruments."

The meeting also heard reports of recent gifts to the Society. These include steelyard scales from the Frieda Gerhardt estate; a set of bone-handled steel knives and forks, given in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Lugner, and an old bowl and pitcher, presented by Mrs. Emily Sinele. The Society expects to receive a loom, the gift of Norman Hoover of Mt. Sterling, and, in addition, it has been offered a chapel organ by Miss Mattie Ramsey of Denver.

The Ogle County Historical Society met Monday, November 30, at the Monroe Center Community Church. At the meeting the reprint edition of Henry R. Boss's *Sketches of the History of Ogle County* was placed on sale. This book, first published in 1859 and long out of print, has been reissued by the Society.

Peoria County's proposed historical museum was the subject of

the principal address at the Peoria Historical Society meeting held November 16 at the Student Center of Bradley University. Clarence L. Dancey, editor of the *Peoria Journal-Star*, was the speaker.

Arch Voight of Du Quoin, a charter member of the Perry County Historical Society and a present member of the board of directors, was the principal speaker at the Society's November 2 meeting at the Pinckneyville City Library.

Voight traced the development of the county's railroads from 1851, when the Illinois Central was established, until the turn of the century. Another early rail line in the county was the Mobile and Ohio, which later merged with the Chicago and Alton and is now the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio. The Mobile and Ohio was originally a narrow-gauge line, Voight said, as was the Wabash, Chester and Western — also known as the W. C. & W., the "Wait, Charlie and Watch" and the "Watch, Cuss and Walk." This line is now under the management of the Missouri Pacific.

Society President Charles Matthews of Pinckneyville was in charge of the meeting.

State Historical Society members are urged to become "Friends of the Charter Oak School" by contributing to the fund campaign of the Randolph County Historical

Society, being led by Miss Lily Flynn, Society president. Contributions should be mailed to Sylvan E. Dial, Chester.

The Randolph Society acquired the octagonal school building near Schuline in December and is planning to restore it for use as a headquarters and to develop the grounds as a picnicking spot for area residents.

The project has attracted nationwide attention, Miss Flynn said. A New York City newspaper published a three-column picture of the school building, and *Historic Preservation*, the quarterly magazine of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, described the building in an article entitled "School Days" (see Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 102-3).

Mrs. W. J. Spurgeon, immediate past president of the Society who now heads the special events committee, conducted a seminar in January and February for volunteer workers who will serve as narrators and guides for historic tours of the county, being scheduled for next May. In addition to heading the tours, Society members will assist visitors in making arrangements for lodging and meals while they are in the county.

Dr. Clark R. Yost of Eldorado, former president of McKendree College, and State Historian Clyde C. Walton were the featured speakers at the November and December meetings, respectively,

of the Saline County Historical Society.

In November, Dr. Yost talked on the subject "Half Forgotten Facts of Southern Illinois History." Among the aspects of that history that have never been adequately explored for the general public, Dr. Yost said, are the significance of George Rogers Clark in Illinois history; the infamous Black Code of 1819; Fort Chartres; and the activities of John Crenshaw, who owned the Old Slave House in Gallatin County.

During the business meeting the Society adopted a resolution proposing state purchase of the old Marshall house at Shawneetown.

At the December 8 meeting Walton discussed Illinois' role in the Civil War, stressing particularly the Union-Confederate conflicts in the state. Despite the divisions within the state, Walton said, Illinois holds an enviable record in the Civil War.

At the conclusion of Walton's speech, Mrs. Harry Morse told of the Civil War engagements in which her father, Lewis Reed, participated.

A preview of Stephenson County Historical Society's farm museum at Freeport was given to Society members and area residents on November 13, following a regular meeting of the Society. Speakers at the meeting were O. H. Neiman, who gave a history of reaping, and Mrs. John Wood-

house, who talked on the Manny family, which manufactured a reaper in Freeport. One of the Manny reapers has been donated to the Society by Art Hassell, and was on display in the museum.

The farm museum, forty by sixty feet in size, is built of patterned gray concrete blocks; it adjoins the parking lot of the historical museum at 1440 South Carroll Avenue.

A doll made in 1820 — the property of Mrs. Harry S. Brewster — and a model of the first locomotive to reach Freeport were among the special Christmas exhibits in the historical museum. The locomotive and other model trains on display were built by their owner, Harold Frisbie. A turn-of-the-century handmade doll house and doll furniture, owned by Mrs. Charles H. Davis, were also shown, together with a miniature German grocery store, loaned by Martha Babcock.

On Sunday, December 13, more than one hundred Society members and guests attended the annual tea at the museum, which had been decorated by Freeport Garden Club's Unit 1 under Mrs. G. L. McQuiggin.

Gunnar Benson, president of the Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society, reported in December that that Society's membership had grown from thirty-four to seventy in its first six months of existence. The Society has not conducted a

membership drive, Benson said, but has grown simply because "local people have been greatly interested in what we have been doing and have asked to become a part of the organization."

Dr. J. L. Weiss spoke at the December 15 meeting on the history of American military insignia, displaying his own large collection. The program also featured an exhibit of rare and antique Bibles owned by Society members.

Among the valuable objects acquired recently from the Davis family, Society officers report, is a 1568 edition, printed in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, of Martin Luther's *Table Talk*.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford held its annual Christmas market at the organization's Erlander Museum on Saturday, December 5.

Mrs. Gunnar Erickson and Mrs. Adde Carlson were program chairmen for the event. Society members served meals, and special sales booths offered Christmas gifts,

Swedish food, home-baked goods and handworked items.

Four anniversaries were observed by the Vandalia Historical Society at its annual dinner on December 4. They were the Lincoln Sesquicentennial, the 125th anniversary of Lincoln's arrival in Vandalia as a member of the state legislature, the 139th anniversary of the state legislature's first session in Vandalia, which convened December 4, 1820, and the fifth anniversary of the Society's founding.

Miss Josephine Burtschi, president, was in charge of the program, which had been arranged by Mr. and Mrs. R. O. Hasler, Mr. and Mrs. Lynn Price, Mr. and Mrs. Otis Hoffman, Miss Edythe Hausmann, James Rexwinkle and Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Brauer. Approximately fifty Society members and guests attended the dinner. The speaker was John Bullington, Hillsboro attorney, whose subject was "Lincoln in Vandalia."

Schedule of Executive Director's Activities

During the first three months of 1960 Clyde C. Walton, Executive Director of the Illinois State Historical Society, attended meetings and conferences having to do with a greater-than-usual variety of history-associated subjects. A summary of this schedule follows:

January 5: Chairman of panel

discussion on lesser known functions of state government before American Society for Public Administration — in Springfield.

January 8: In Peoria for meeting of steering committee for National Library Week in Illinois.

January 11: Attended session of the Civil War Centennial Com-

mission of Illinois as secretary of that body — in Carbondale.

January 13: Accompanied a state architect to Bloomington for an examination of the David Davis Mansion.

January 19: At Southern Illinois University faculty seminar on Illinois weather — in Carbondale.

January 26: In Bloomington for meeting with committee of Illinois Teachers' College Board on David Davis Mansion.

January 27: Addressed Augustana Historical Society in Rock Island.

January 28-30: At midwinter session of American Library Association in Chicago.

January 31: At meeting of Board of Directors of Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield.

February 3: Addressed Rotary Club at Carbondale.

February 5: In Benton for organizational meeting of Franklin County Historical Society.

February 8: Met in Chicago with design engineer and display expert on plans for Robert R. McCormick Historymobile.

February 9-12: Attended Lincoln's Birthday observances in Washington, D. C., where new two-volume *Lincoln Day by Day* was introduced. Took part in panel discussion in Library of Congress on subject "Is the Lincoln Theme Exhausted?"

February 19-20: In Pittsburgh,

Pa., with Glen D. Palmer, state Director of Conservation, to confer with officials of United States Steel Corporation on plans for the recently authorized state park at junction of Ohio and Mississippi rivers at Cairo.

February 23: Addressed assembly of Wilson Junior High School students at Rockford.

March 1: Accompanied by representatives of state Department of Conservation, met in Memphis, Tenn., with U. S. Army Engineer officers on the state park at Cairo. (Return trip to Springfield required next two days, due to snow storm.)

March 12: Met with Past President and Mrs. Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., in Moline on plans for Spring Tour of the Historical Society.

March 15: Attended first meeting of David Davis Mansion management board in Bloomington.

March 16: Examined collection of historic papers at Elkhart, Illinois, estate.

March 18: Addressed Springfield Civil War Round Table on "Illinois and the Civil War."

March 21: At Jacksonville to address Illinois College convocation on "History in General."

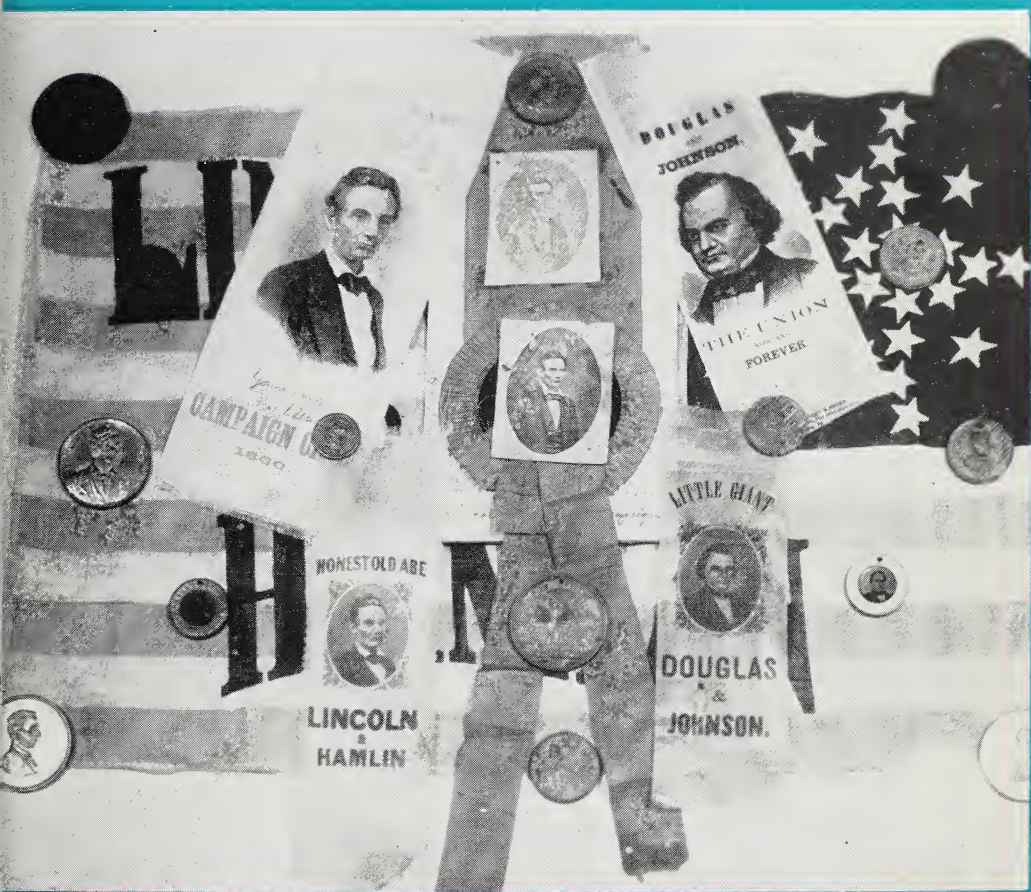
March 25: At Starved Rock State Park Lodge to make arrangements for April 3-4 meeting there of Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois.

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JOURNAL

THE

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FROM THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860 (See page 222)

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Table of Contents

- 117 *The Municipal Voters' League and Chicago's Boodlers*
SIDNEY I. ROBERTS
- 149 *Nehemiah Matson — Historian of Northern Illinois*
RUTH EWERS HABERKORN
- 163 *John A. McClernand and the House Speakership
Struggle of 1859*
VICTOR HICKEN
- 179 *Alfred Whital Stern, 1881-1960*
- 183 LINCOLNIANA NOTES
Commission Issues Lincoln Guide for Teachers
Lombard-Lincoln Banner at Knox College
Son of Julia Taft, Lincoln's Neighbor, Dies
Correction: It Was Not the "Only Evidence"
New Bathsheba Lincoln Grave Marker Dedicated
- 190 RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
- 191 BOOK REVIEWS
- 207 NEWS AND COMMENT

Illustrations

- Cover *From the Campaign of 1860*
- 121 *Aldermen Michael "Hinky Dink" Kenna and John Powers*
- 123 *Mayor John P. Hopkins*
- 125 *Chicago Tribune Cartoon on the Boodlers*
- 128 *Mayor George B. Swift*
- 135 *George E. Cole*
- 140 *Alderman "Bathhouse John" Coughlin*
- 153 *Nehemiah Matson*
- 157 *Nehemiah Matson's Home in Princeton*
- 166 *John A. McClernand*
- 176 *Charles H. Lanphier*
- 180 *Alfred Whital Stern*
- 185 *Both Sides of the Lombard-Lincoln Banner*
- 189 *At the Dedication of the Bathsheba Lincoln Grave Marker*

The Municipal Voters' League And Chicago's Boodlers

Sidney I. Roberts is an assistant professor of history at the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, College Station. He received his Ph.D. degree from Northwestern University in June. This article is the result of research into the role of American businessmen as reformers which he began as a candidate for his M.A. degree at Columbia University, New York, and continued on the doctoral level.

THE HISTORY of civic reform in the city of Chicago prior to 1900 is largely the story of periodic crusades. Chicagoans vacillated from fever-pitch concern with municipal affairs to lethargic quiescence; Chicago was either the worst-governed city in the United States or the best. Most of the time, however, it approached Lincoln Steffens' characterization of being "first in violence, deepest in dirt; loud, lawless, unlovely, ill-smelling, irreverent, new; an overgrown gawk of a village, the 'tough' among cities, a spectacle for the nation."¹ While a nucleus of devoted reformers kept a constant vigil, the citizenry generally remained unmoved, and by the 1890's, despite earlier reform waves, the name of Chicago had again become synonymous with blatant graft and political corruption. Once again the time was ripe for a popular awakening.²

1. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1948), 234.

2. For a study of earlier reform movements in Chicago, see Sidney I. Roberts, "Chicago Civic Profiles," *Men and Events* (Chicago Union League Club), XXXIII (Sept., 1957 and Oct., 1957): 4 ff. and 10 ff.

The core of Chicago's rottenness was the city council. Despite the perennial pleas of civic reformers, the moral and intellectual caliber of city aldermen had constantly declined. Year by year, corruption became more pronounced; by 1895 unprincipled aldermen were willing to barter away anything and everything belonging to the city provided the price was right. Dishonest councilmen nonchalantly robbed the treasury, engaged in blackmail and accepted bribes with a public-be-damned attitude. Of the sixty-eight aldermen holding office in 1895, fifty-seven were known grafters; only eleven out of the entire group viewed their official position as a public trust and not as a source of private gain.³ Indeed, Chicago well deserved its reputation as the boodle capital of the world.

City affairs were conducted by such outstanding luminaries as "Bathhouse John" Coughlin, the dandy who specialized in the sartorial graces and in boodle franchises; Mike Ryan, the gambler who at one time opposed the purchase of six gondolas for Lincoln Park by shouting, "Why waste th' taxpayers' money buyin' six gondolas? Git a pair of 'em, an' let nature take its course"; and "Hinky Dink" Kenna, the expert on petty graft who imported and organized a huge army of vagrants every election day.⁴ Many of the men who served as aldermen were saloon-keepers; it was rumored that a joker once nearly emptied the council chamber by paying a boy to rush into a meeting shouting, "Mister, your saloon is on fire."⁵ Fist fights on the chamber floor

3. Virgil W. Peterson, *Barbarians in Our Midst: A History of Chicago Crime and Politics* (Boston, 1952), 68; Edwin B. Smith, "Council Reform in Chicago," *Municipal Affairs*, IV (June, 1900): 347-48.

4. Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Lords of the Levee: The Story of Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink* (Garden City, 1944), *passim*.

5. Steffens says this incident, perhaps an apocryphal one, occurred in St. Louis. *Shame of the Cities*, 34.

were not uncommon. At one meeting of the council the chamber was converted into a free-for-all boxing arena when the Democrats, in an effort to avoid a vote, rushed the Republicans who were guarding the locked doors.⁶ Usually it did not require anything as serious as a vote to provoke the city fathers into ruffianism. One former member described a council meeting devoted to formless clamor, rowdiness and ribaldry:

Alderman Noble and Alderman Greenacre, from the thirty-first ward quarreled vehemently. Mayor Swift . . . narrowly escaped being hit by a wastepaper basket flung by Alderman Merchant at Alderman Kahler. Merchant was the leader of the paper and basket throwing which followed. He threw a wad of "reports" at Foster, of the twenty-seventh who sits behind him at a distance. Foster paid no heed to him. . . . But when it came "Buck" McCarthy's time to be hit, the big fellow called out: "Here, ye dirty stiff, quit flinging them baskets." "Go on and soak Shepherd," said Merchant, and McCarthy, in a good humored way, flung the basket at Shepherd. . . . The latent joviality of John Brennan was aroused at this exhibition. There was a full wastepaper basket behind him and Alderman Mahoney, and he pulled it over and made ammunition out of its contents. The first man he hit was Alderman Powers, who shook his head and laughed. . . . Profanity and obscenity were heard on every side. Spitoons [*sic*] were playfully kicked over and spilled on the floor.⁷

But not all the aldermen could be classified as disreputables. On rare occasions the so-called "respectable" wards sent honest, intelligent men to City Hall. These men, however, were always in the minority, and their protests and negative votes were ineffectual.

There had been boodling in the city council ever since

6. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 22, 1895.

7. MS report of the Jan., 1926, meeting of the Chicago Literary Society, n.p., William Kent Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

there had been a council. In the early days, however, it was usually of a petty, insignificant nature. "If streets had to be opened, water pipes extended, sub-sidewalk privileges licensed, or a thousand other little concessions secured by perfunctory action of the council, the applicant paid the schedule and forgot about it."⁸ But by 1890 boodling had become a well-organized, large-scale business. As both the city and the powers of the city council grew, opportunities for graft increased proportionately. Reputable, as well as disreputable, business firms were forced to pay blackmail to aldermen for special privileges and immunities. For example, one corporation that had long pleaded for a revision of its charter was successful only after paying \$10,000; two ice companies paid \$50,000 to quash threatened legislation which, if passed, would have ruined their businesses.⁹ City aldermen took as little as \$100 for an alley ordinance and as much as \$25,000 for granting privileges to a railway corporation, although the "all-time high" in boodle history is said to have been one payment of \$100,000 and two pieces of property.¹⁰ Alderman John J. Coughlin boldly gave notice to ordinance-seekers that he was ready and willing to fleece them when he placed two lambs in the window of his Silver Dollar Buffet Saloon with a not-too-cryptic sign reading, "These Lambs Are To Be Fleeced."¹¹ Seeing their colleagues grow wealthy and noting the willingness of certain businessmen to offer bribes, even the few honest alder-

8. Elizabeth T. Kent, "William Kent, Independent" (mimeo., 1950, in Chicago Historical Society), 112.

9. Frank H. Scott, "The Municipal Situation in Chicago," *National Municipal League Proceedings of the Detroit Conference for Good City Government, 1903* (Philadelphia, 1903), *passim*; *The Outlook*, LII (Aug. 3, 1895): 165-66; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 29, 1895.

10. Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 35.

11. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1895.



ALL PHOTOS IN THIS ARTICLE COURTESY CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Aldermen Michael "Hinky Dink" Kenna, left, and John Powers are lined up evidently waiting for a parade to start. The "MC" monogrammed on their badges probably stood for "Marching Club"; there was a "Cook County Democracy Marching Club." Powers' badge proclaims that he was president.

men sometimes became prey to "that aldermanic malady known as fatty degeneration of the conscience."¹²

The gluttony of the city fathers could not forever continue unopposed. Civic-minded citizens, long disturbed by the existence of bribery, were even more upset by the knowledge that the city was not obtaining adequate compensation for the valuable franchises her aldermen were so generously dispensing. In other cities the gas, electric, telegraph and

12. Mathew M. Trumbull, "The Misgovernment of Cities," *The Open Court*, IV (Nov. 13, 1890): 2600-2601.

street railway companies paid the treasury for the right to operate on, above or under the city streets. But in Chicago these companies paid only a fraction of the true value of their franchises — and paid that sum in an underhanded manner to boodling aldermen. Reformers, to no avail, called upon mayors to veto franchises that failed to provide adequate compensation for Chicago. But even when a mayor was moved to action, his veto was useless, for the boodlers merely mustered a two-thirds vote and overrode the veto. The pleas and arguments, however, began to awaken the public and create faint stirrings of popular discontent. Because the corrupt aldermen were either unaware of this popular awakening or, as was more likely, because they were totally unconcerned with the rights of the people, they continued their boodling and were instrumental in hastening their own downfall.

In less than a year, beginning January, 1895, the City Hall gang gave away nine franchises of inestimable value.¹³ Notable among these were the Cosmopolitan Electric ordinance, the Ogden Gas franchise, and the General Electric Railway Company ordinance. Each of these was an outright steal, and each was greeted with an ever mounting popular protest.

The Cosmopolitan Electric ordinance was passed at the council meeting of February 25, 1895, at which Alderman Mike Ryan presided in place of the absent mayor, John P. Hopkins. In accordance with a prearranged scheme, Alderman Ryan recognized Alderman McGillen, who introduced the ordinance as a "substitute"; Ryan perversely ruled that no discussion was necessary. This maneuver did not go un-

13. Smith, "Council Reform," 347-48; "Report to the Voters of Chicago, December 29, 1896"; this report and the franchises referred to may be found in the Municipal Voters' League Papers, Citizens' Association offices, Chicago.

*Mayor John P. Hopkins — he
shared in the boodle*



opposed. Aldermen William Kent and James R. Mann, who knew nothing about the ordinance but were well acquainted with the gang's tricks, rose to object, but the boodlers jeered and shouted them down. Under gag rule the ordinance was rushed through by a vote of sixty-one to four. This act gave a nonexistent company with no capital assets or physical plant the right to build power stations, ring the city with electric conduits and supply electricity, light, heat and signal communications for a fifty-year period.¹⁴ The fictitious Cosmopolitan Electric Company had no intention of performing any of these functions or of competing with well-established companies. It simply wanted the franchise in order to blackmail an existing company into buying out its franchise at an exorbitant price.¹⁵

At the session of March 4, 1895, the council enacted the

14. *Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Chicago* . . . 1895, 2660; Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 118; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 26 and 28, 1895.

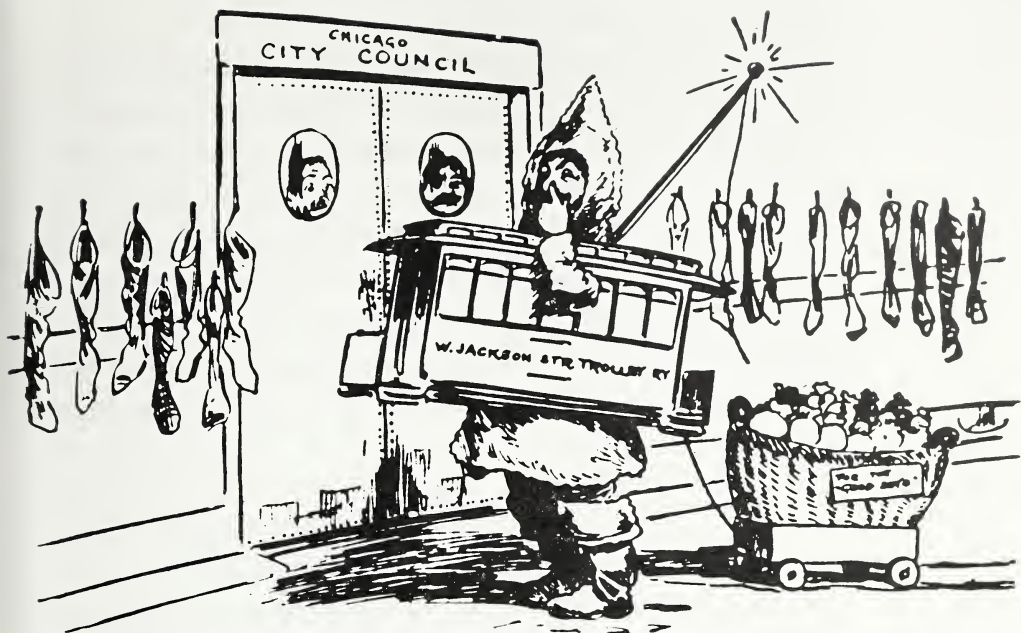
15. *Proceedings of the City Council*, 1895, 2666; Graham Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers* (Chicago, 1930), 55-56.

Ogden Gas ordinance. Roles were reversed this time as Alderman McGillen presided and Alderman Ryan introduced a "substitute" bill for an old gas measure. Again, gag rule was applied, objectors were shouted down with filthy language, and the measure passed with the same sixty-one to four vote.

The Ogden Gas ordinance was an obvious attempt to shake down the People's Gas and Coke Company, which in 1895 was in the process of consolidating all the gas companies serving Chicago. The Ogden franchise permitted a mystery company, whose backers at that time were unknown, to rip up the streets, lay pipe and sell gas for fifty years at a cheaper rate than that charged by People's Gas. The public was not fooled into thinking that this measure would force gas prices down. Either the "Gas Trust" would buy out the Ogden Company and pass the expense along to the consumers, or the Ogden Company, if it ever actually went into business, would obtain an amendment to its franchise raising the price of the gas it would sell.¹⁶ The former is what actually occurred, although the sale did not take place until several years later.

The day after the ordinance passed, the *Tribune* named many of the backers of the Ogden Gas Company, but some of the most influential ones were not revealed until much later. Roger Sullivan, a local political boss and the power behind Mayor Hopkins, owned two of the company's eleven shares and became its president. Mayor Hopkins himself held two shares. Among the other shareholders were Aldermen Mike Ryan, John McGillen, John Powers, Thomas Gahan and John Coughlin. Each of the eleven shares was

16. See also editorial in *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1895, on the technique of boodling a franchise and then selling out to the gas trust.



This cartoon, published on the front page of the Chicago Tribune of December 6, 1895, was typical of many used by the Chicago papers of the boodle period. In the caption Santa Claus ("W. Jackson Str Trolley Ry") says, "My, what a lot of aldermanic stockings!" The tag on Santa's little wagonload of moneybag goodies reads, "For the 'good boys.'"

valued at \$166,666.66 when the merger sale was made.¹⁷

The Cosmopolitan and Ogden ordinances were such flagrant steals that the Civic Federation, a multipurpose reform organization whose leadership came largely from the ranks of the Union League Club, the Commercial Club and the Citizens' Association, immediately denounced the venal gang of aldermen and called for a mass protest meeting to be held at Central Music Hall on March 3, 1895. Some five thousand people attended the meeting, which was presided over by Lyman J. Gage, a prominent banker and civic reformer. The Civic Federation also established a committee to call upon the Mayor to obtain his promise to veto

¹⁷. Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 119-20; Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers*, 50; *Chicago Tribune*, March 5, 1895; Lincoln Steffens, "Enemies of the Republic," *McClure's Magazine*, XXIII (Aug., 1904): 399.

the Cosmopolitan and Ogden franchises. In the event that the Mayor should not comply with this request, the committee was to draw up two repealing ordinances and have them introduced in the city council. Mayor Hopkins ignored the committee's pleas and signed both measures; the repealing ordinances were somehow never introduced.¹⁸ The press put aside partisanship, and both Democratic and Republican organs lambasted the council with their blackest type. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* carried a front-page mock advertisement:

FOR SALE

One Gas Franchise Covering All of the Earth
within the corporate limits of Chicago
Guaranteed sound and court proof
a bargain at \$25,000.
Apply early and avoid the rush

ALSO

One Franchise Allowing Owner Thereof To Build
and operate (if he so desires) electric lighting
plants, telephone systems, telegraph lines, etc.,
etc., etc.

This is a copper bottomed, riveted cinch and
this is Cheap at \$500,000.

APPLY:

THE GANG
CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS
CHICAGO¹⁹

Even the clergy joined the storm of protest. Elsewhere, too, suggestions were made for changing the procedure of granting franchises and for limiting the powers of the city

18. Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers*, 52; *Chicago Tribune*, March 4 and 5, 1895. So many people attended the mass meeting that a second hall had to be rented for the overflow crowd.

19. *Chicago Tribune*, cited in Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 119-20; *Chicago Times-Herald*, Feb. 26, March 5, 1895.

council, but they came to nothing. One such measure, offered at a council meeting by one of the rare honest aldermen, proposed granting franchises to the highest bidder at a public auction. The thought of losing a good thing was too much for Alderman John O'Neil of the Thirty-fourth Ward, who jumped to his feet and told his fellow boodlers:

We are not here for three dollars a night. You know that, boys. You take that into consideration. I think you have defeated this order. Guard your rights! If we pass this order we lose our occupation as Aldermen!²⁰

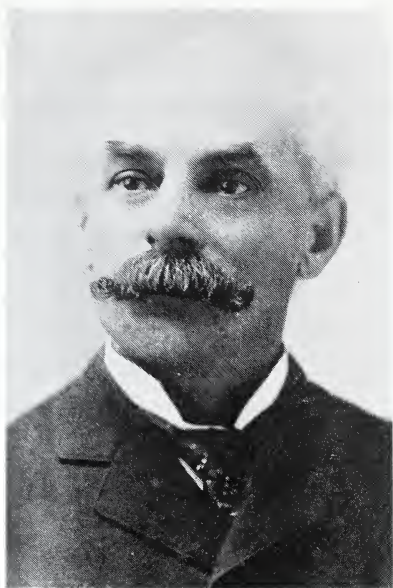
None of these attacks alarmed the boodlers, who asked, "Yeah, what are you going to do about it?"

The story of the passage of the General Electric Railway Company ordinance on January 9, 1896, is almost identical to that of the Ogden and Cosmopolitan measures.²¹ This time "Bathhouse John" Coughlin introduced and engineered the passage of a bill permitting a fictitious street railway company to construct and maintain surface lines throughout the South Side. Despite the protests of honest aldermen and the evident discontent of a hissing public gallery, the franchise was enacted by a vote of fifty-three to eighteen. President McCann of the Chicago and Englewood Street Railway Company immediately declared that his company was ready to buy the General Electric franchise. "We've got to," he said, "if we want to get uptown."²² The newly elected mayor, George B. Swift, vetoed the ordinance on the ground that it did not adequately compensate the city. Coughlin, who was reportedly paid \$75,000 for obtaining passage of the General Electric franchise, was offered four

20. *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1895.

21. *Proceedings of the City Council* . . . 1896, 1647; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Jan. 10, 1896; *Chicago Daily News*, Jan. 10, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 11, 1896.

22. Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 141.



*Mayor George B. Swift — the
boodlers overrode his veto*

times that sum if he could pass it over the mayor's veto. He organized his minions, and the ordinance received four more than the necessary two-thirds vote to override a veto. But there was a difference between the passage of the General Electric ordinance and its predecessors. This time the council gang had gone too far. This time the public had an answer to the contemptuous question, "What are you going to do about it?"²³

But what a seemingly ridiculous answer! A new reform organization was created — the Municipal Voters' League. The boodlers greeted the newcomer with laughter, for there were already as many civic reform societies in Chicago as there were boodlers in the council. The well-entrenched bummers scoffed and jeered at the new alliance's avowed purpose: "to promote the nomination and election of ag-

23. *Ibid.*, 140-42; "Notes of an Address Appreciative of Sigmund Zeiler and His Civic Service," Graham Taylor Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 11, 1896; *Chicago Daily News*, Jan. 10, 1896. One block of votes for the General Electric franchise was reported to have cost the backers some \$250,000. See *Chicago Tribune*, July 9 and 10, 1897.

gressively honest and capable men to public office, to investigate and publish for the information of voters, the records of candidates for office, to secure the separation of the municipal business of Chicago and Cook County from national politics, and to aid in the strict enforcement of civil service laws."²⁴ "Bathhouse John" invited reporters to his saloon, treated them to a round of drinks and histrionically declared, "This new movement is the mist which rises skyward before one's eyes, and while it may become thick enough to make a cloud and look scarlet and silver and gilt edged in the sunlight, it will yet be the cloud that will blind good political vision."²⁵ If the complacent boodlers had been able to see into the future, their laughter would have died a-borning.

Immediately upon passage of the General Electric franchise, the Civic Federation invited the Union League, the Citizens' Association, the Commercial Club, the Board of Trade, the Marquette, Iroquois and Hamilton clubs and other organizations to send delegates to a conference at the Royal League Hall to consider the rotten council situation and "do something." About two hundred men attended the meeting on January 11, but they were hopelessly deadlocked on the method of proceeding to rid the city of its boodlers.²⁶ Reformers in the past had tried exposures, trials and even the conviction of a few boodlers; they had rewritten the city

24. "Object of the Municipal Voters' League," Municipal Voters' League, Minute Book, April 13, 1896. The minute books of the League's executive committee are untitled and contain unnumbered pages; hereafter cited as Minute Book.

25. Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 142.

26. Several days before enactment of the General Electric franchise the Civic Federation issued an invitation for a meeting to discuss municipal reform in general. The council's action on Jan. 9 changed the purpose of the meeting. L. C. Collins, Jr., circular letter, Jan. 6, 1896, in Papers of the Citizens' Association of Chicago, Association offices, Chicago; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 6, 1896; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Jan. 11, 1896; *Chicago Daily News*, Jan. 11, 1896.

charter, passed a pure-election law and adopted the merit system. Yet, despite all previous efforts, corruption and bad government still existed.²⁷ The conference was divided between those who now wanted a permanent municipal reform third party and those who wanted a nonpartisan league to advise the voters on municipal affairs.

Advocates of a reform third party argued that the two-party system did not seem to work in local affairs. Both major parties were dominated by machines which controlled the nomination and election of aldermen. Furthermore, the machine leaders, to a large extent, worked in complete harmony with each other to the detriment of the city. As a consequence many of the men at the conference favored the creation of a municipal party as a means of obtaining machine-free nominations and of divorcing local from national politics.²⁸ But Lyman J. Gage doubted the wisdom of this course. With the aid of John H. Hamline, Edwin Buritt Smith, Graham Taylor and other colleagues of previous reform efforts, Gage was able to forestall action; he secured the creation of a committee of fifteen which would decide "what to do" and report to a reconvened conference. Gage was made chairman of the committee.²⁹

After two weeks of meetings in Edwin B. Smith's law office, the committee reported to the reassembled municipal reform

27. Steffens, *Shame of the Cities*, 238-39; see articles cited in n. 2 for details.

28. George C. Sikes, "How the Chicago City Council Was Regenerated," *The Chautauquan*, XXXVI (Jan., 1903): 398.

29. While the sentiment of the conference was divided, the majority of the delegates favored the creation of an independent party. This may be seen in the newspaper comment on the gathering and in the following resolution adopted at the meeting: "Resolved, that it is the sense of this conference that a permanent municipal reform party, or league, should be organized and the chairman is hereby authorized to appoint a committee of fifteen to consider the advisability of effecting such an organization and report at an adjourned meeting to be held for the purpose." *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 12, 1896.

conference with a plan which called for the creation of a "Municipal Voters' League."³⁰ The League was to be administered by three bodies: an executive committee of nine; an advisory committee of one hundred, composed of two men — a Democrat and a Republican — from each of the city's thirty-four wards and thirty-two at large; and ward committees, of from one to five members, whose function was to keep the executive committee advised of local conditions. The stated purpose of the League was to secure the nomination and election of honest men to city, town and county offices; to bring about an efficient and businesslike administration of city affairs; to obtain an equitable tax assessment of property; to protect the rights of the people in the streets of Chicago and, particularly, to secure full compensation to the city for all franchises.³¹ The delegates readily accepted the committee's plan. Thus it came about that early in 1896 a new reform organization was created. Its structure, at least on the surface, appeared to follow the stereotyped pattern, and its stated objectives were the well-worn clichés of municipal crusades. Little wonder the boddlers greeted the Municipal Voters' League with laughter.

Even the citizens of Chicago were a bit skeptical and somewhat puzzled as to just how the League would bring about reform. Their obvious question was, why did the reformers create still another organization when there was already a surfeit of well-established groups in the field, with considerable overlapping of leadership? For example, among the Union Leaguers active in the new civic group were

30. Lincoln Steffens, "Chicago Half Free and Fighting On," *McClure's Magazine*, XXI (Oct., 1903): 566; Smith, "Council Reform," 348; Edwin B. Smith, *Essays and Addresses* (Chicago, 1909), 21-22; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 27, Feb. 9, 1896.

31. Untitled MS in the Endorsement Book, n.d. but possibly March 9, 1896, Municipal Voters' League Papers.

Adolph Nathan, William H. Colvin, R. R. Donnelley, J. J. Knickerbocker, Henry L. Turner, Sidney C. Eastman, Marvin A. Farr, General George W. Smith, Allen B. Pond, George Bass, Seymour Coman and Henry N. Mann.³²

Some of the reasons for establishing the League were made public, while others became known only in time. The most obvious reason was the apparent failure of existing reform groups. The Citizens' Association, for example, had deteriorated to a low point in membership, funds and power. The Union League was restrained by its bylaws from engaging directly in politics. The Civic Federation had undertaken so many varied crusades that it was unable to concentrate effectively on one. Under these circumstances, civic-minded citizens argued that Chicago needed a new organization. They further pointed out that a large number of street-railway franchises were about to expire, and hence there was need for a new body capable of putting up a good fight so that renewals would be granted only if the city were adequately compensated. One of the more important reasons for the creation of the new organization was not disclosed until some thirty years later, when Ralph M. Easley, formerly the secretary of the Civic Federation, wrote:

When the Civic Federation of Chicago was organized, we had as one of its committees that on political work, or something of that type, with Judge Lorin C. Collins as chairman. At that time, Lyman J. Gage was the president of the organization. In the printed matter we had put out soliciting funds for the Civic Federation, we made great claims about what we were going to do in respect to the forthcoming political primaries. We found, however, as we got along into it, that we didn't have the money to do it,

32. J. Frank Aldrich, "Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Six," *Union League Club Bulletin*, Oct., 1926, pp. 13-14. Working with the membership list of the Chicago Citizens' Association for the period from 1874 to 1900, the writer has discovered that 70 per cent of the Association members were also members of the Municipal Voters' League.

nor could we raise it because we found that those who had contributed, say \$100, to the Civic Federation wouldn't give us another \$100 for an additional piece of work. So we hit upon the bright idea that if we created a new organization to do this particular work those who gave \$100 to the Civic Federation would just as quickly give \$100 to another organization. We had learned that that was one of the peculiar idiosyncrasies of subscribers. Therefore, making a virtue of necessity, we decided to create a new organization to handle the political work originally promised by the Civic Federation.³³

But the major reason for the founding of the Municipal Voters' League was only vaguely recognized even by its organizers. The simple fact was that Chicago reformers were bewildered and helpless in the face of intolerable municipal affairs. They were disgusted with their own impotency and their feckless civic associations. So desperate were they for effective action that they created a dictatorship, abandoning the traditional procedures of organizing a reform group. They first selected a leader, gave that man unlimited powers, permitted him to select his own executive committee and allowed him to determine the new organization's policies and write its constitution. Even the name "Municipal Voters' League" was chosen because it meant nothing and everything. The executive committee of the League was to be unlike any other directing body in that it was not hamstrung by committees, bylaws, interfering do-gooders, constitutions and responsibility to membership. It was responsible only to the president of the League, who was responsible only to himself. Not surprisingly, the character and function of the League was to be determined by its first president.

Lyman Gage's committee of fifteen did not have an easy

33. Aldrich to Ralph M. Easley, May 4, 1926, J. Frank Aldrich Papers, Union League Civic and Arts Foundation, Chicago.

time in selecting a leader. They were looking for a fighter — a man who could and would accept full responsibility for launching a successful civic crusade.³⁴ Each member of the committee refused the job in turn. Among others suggested for the post was William Kent, a wealthy young man who had gone into local politics as a result of the preachings of the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones and the inspiration of John H. Hamline, a onetime city alderman and president of the Union League Club.³⁵ The problem with appointing Kent, however, was that he was one of the few honest men serving in the city council, a position no one wanted him to vacate. After considering several other candidates at the committee meeting of February 12, 1896, Colonel John S. Cooper suggested George E. Cole for the position, describing him as a “patriotic citizen who has been active and useful in political affairs of the Fourth Ward. He is a little man, but has nerve, courage, and character.”

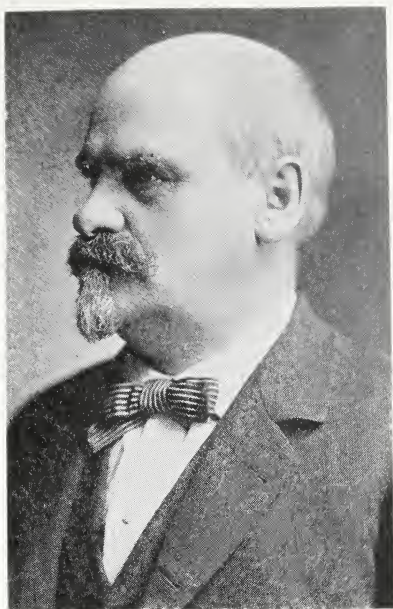
No one else on the committee knew Cole, but the fifteen acted as one in declaring him acceptable when they heard that he had once remarked, “I owe much to Chicago and would be glad to give up two years of my life, without remuneration, if thereby I could help make the city what it ought to be.” The committee called Cole, who arrived at the meeting in less than ten minutes, and offered him the job as president of the Municipal Voters' League.³⁶ Although surprised, Cole agreed to undertake the task on certain conditions. He demanded an initial working fund of \$10,000, the right to name his own executive committee and a free

34. Steffens, *Shame of the Cities*, 240, and “Chicago Half Free,” 567. Surprisingly, none of the newspapers contains an account of the difficulties in obtaining a president for the League.

35. Unpublished autobiography, n.p., n.d., William Kent Papers.

36. Lyman J. Gage, *Memoirs of Lyman J. Gage* (Chicago, n.d.), 72-73; Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers*, 57.

*George E. Cole — “a little
sawed-off giant of reform”*



hand to “run the thing just as I wish.”³⁷ The desperate state of municipal affairs called for desperate action. Cole’s terms were accepted, and he was unanimously appointed.

George E. Cole was just the man for the position. Over fifty years of age and just five feet tall, he described himself as a “second class businessman.” After fighting in the Civil War with the Tenth Michigan Volunteers, Cole settled in Chicago and opened a printing-stationery shop. He was moderately successful in the business world and soon became a member of the Union League Club and later of the Civic Federation. He was vigorous, strong, stubborn and egotistic. Judge Murray F. Tuley once described him to a reform rally as “a little sawed-off giant of reform. He is our machine, tireless and fearless. He has X-ray eyes, and can look right through a candidate and see whether he is a boodler or not.

37. Gage, *Memoirs*, 73; Minute Book, Feb. 13, 1896. The League began its work with \$9,758.25 — just short of the \$10,000. Statement of accounts, May 15, 1896, Minute Book.

George E. Cole is a human buzz-saw."³⁸ Thereafter he was affectionately called "Buzz-saw" Cole.

"Old King Cole" — perhaps the most appropriate of his various nicknames — wasted no time in starting to work. After consulting with a very few people, he chose his executive committee. Among his first selections were William H. Colvin, a wealthy retired businessman; Frank Wells, a prominent real estate man; R. R. Donnelley, the head of the city's largest printing establishment; and Hoyt King, a young lawyer with a flair for conducting investigations. All of these men held memberships in the Union League Club and in the Civic Federation. The other two members of the executive committee were Edwin Burritt Smith, lawyer and publicist, and M. J. Carroll, an ex-labor leader and editor of a labor journal. Counting Cole, the committee consisted of only seven men, but Cole did not think it necessary to have the nine members prescribed by the original organization plan. Even the "One Hundred" which the "Nine" were supposed to complete never consisted of a hundred men.³⁹ In fact, the committee of one hundred met only twice — once to confirm the appointment of Cole as president and once to give the executive committee the power to perpetuate itself by electing its own members for renewable three-year terms.⁴⁰ Instead of creating numerous ward committees, Cole appointed a single advisory committee consisting of Alderman William Kent, Judge Murray F. Tuley, Francis Lackner, Graham Taylor, a prominent theologian, Allen B. Pond, the civic-minded architect, and

38. Hoyt King, *Citizen Cole of Chicago* (Chicago, 1931), *passim*; Wendt-Kogan, *Lords of the Levee*, 144-45.

39. Minute Book, April 13, 1896; Steffens, "Chicago Half Free," 571, and *Shame of the Cities*, 241-42.

40. Smith, "Council Reform," 348-49; Minute Book, May 15, 1896; Municipal Voters' League Amended By-Laws.

two bankers. The last two were given the fund-raising assignments. Although the League had a general membership of more than forty thousand in the first year, these members were merely city voters who had signed cards expressing approval of the League's purpose and methods. The executive committee of the League made no pretense of being responsible to the members or of representing the rank and file. Members had no voting rights in the organization, and no general meetings were called. Under Cole's leadership the League aimed at results; it had no use for theories, rainbows or idealism. Cole believed in using every means at hand to achieve the best results.⁴¹ Chicago finally had a political machine that was capable of fighting political machines.

The Municipal Voters' League opened headquarters in a small office at 126 West Washington Street on February 18, 1896. With the spring aldermanic elections but six weeks away, Cole and his associates immediately directed their efforts toward a single objective — the election of honest aldermen. Their specific goal was the election of honest men to over one-third of the aldermanic seats; that is, enough to sustain the mayor's veto of boodle measures. To that end, the executive committee mapped out a three-stage plan of attack that was also followed in subsequent elections.

As its first official act, the League asked the committeemen of the major parties to make their aldermanic nominations on or before March 9, so that the voters would have ample time to examine the candidates. The request was accompanied by the declaration that if the nominations were not made by that date, the League would feel at liberty to place

41. Smith, "Council Reform," 349-50, and *Essays*, 23; Sikes, "How the Chicago City Council Was Regenerated," 400; "Voters' League of Chicago," *Outlook*, IV (Sept. 10, 1898): 130-31.

its own candidates in the field.⁴² Both parties ignored the League's communication, for they planned to follow the usual procedure of delaying nominations until just before the closing date for filing names with the city clerk. The League was determined to put an end to the practice of last-minute machine nominations and proceeded to carry out its threat. Twenty-four of the thirty-four aldermen whose terms were expiring were declared unfit for re-election. In their wards the League urged independent candidates to run for the city council. Nominating petitions were printed and circulated under League auspices, and mass meetings were held in several wards. This first stage of the League's attack proved so effective that many of the retiring aldermen who had planned to seek re-election were either rejected by the party bosses or defeated in the primary. Fourteen of the twenty-four objectionable candidates were thus eliminated; only ten aspirants were renominated, and they had yet to withstand the League's second attack.⁴³

Just as quickly as the parties made their nominations, the League began an intensive investigation of the candidates' personal and public lives. Thousands of letters were sent to individual citizens, clergymen, civic and professional associations, inquiring about the character of the nominees.⁴⁴ Trained detectives were hired to scour the city for information; different investigators were often set to work separately on the same candidate. When the investigations were com-

42. President's report, May 15, 1896, Minute Book; letter from Cole to Republican, Democrat, and Peoples Party, Feb. 24, 1896, Municipal Voters' League Papers; *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 6 and 12, 1896.

43. President's report, May 15, 1896, Minute Book; *Chicago Tribune*, March 24, 1896.

44. Municipal Voters' League Endorsement Book, *passim*; Lawson to E. B. Smith, March 12 and 14, 1896, Victor F. Lawson Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago.

pleted, Cole and his executive committee carefully analyzed the reports to determine which of the candidates merited support. The candidates who passed this test were then summoned and asked the following questions:

Do you believe that the public should receive compensation for private use of public property?

Do you believe that ordinances conferring franchises for street railways, telephones and similar public utilities should be limited to a period not exceeding twenty years?

Do you believe that all such ordinances to a given company should expire at the same time?

Do you believe that all such ordinances should provide the opportunity for public ownership on fair and reasonable terms?

Do you believe in the merit system of civil service and in the enforcement of the present civil service law?

If elected, will you spend requisite time in looking after the physical and sanitary needs of your ward?

Do you believe that in the organization of the council the best men in it, that is those who have given proof of their capacity and of their fidelity to public interests, should be placed at the head of and in control of the committees irrespective of party politics?⁴⁵

If the candidate answered all of the questions to Cole's satisfaction and signed the "Municipal Voters' League Pledge," which was merely a restatement of the questions, he received the League's backing.⁴⁶ In some wards the League did not hesitate to endorse more than one candidate; in others it urged an independent to make the race, while in still others it refused to endorse any of the candidates, declaring them all unfit for public office.

After the primary election and the investigation of candidates, the League began the third and most vital phase of its campaign — bringing the results of its findings to the public's attention. The League exploited every avenue of com-

45. Minute Book, March 31, 1899.

46. Smith, *Essays*, 45-46.



*Alderman "Bathhouse John"
Coughlin, as he appeared in
1934*

munication. Concise reports on the qualifications of every aldermanic candidate were written and published — in the daily newspapers, in leaflets and pamphlets, in letters addressed to all the registered voters and even in pocket-size "pledge cards," which voters were asked to sign. In the Twenty-third Ward, for example, fifty thousand such cards were printed with the simple legend, "Whereas, C. H. Howell, Alderman of the 23rd Ward, has been nominated for another term, Resolved, that his record in the council does not justify his re-election."⁴⁷ One of the League's best eye-catchers was a black-bordered "Roll of Dishonor" which listed the names of boodle aldermen by wards. Circulars were printed in foreign languages as well as in English. The League's reports pulled no punches; its motto, which occupied a prominent place on its publications, declared, "A hundred years ago if men were knaves, why, people called them so." Cole recognized the value of words as symbols

47. Minute Book, Feb. 19, March 5, 1896.

and urged his associates to make liberal use of "pepper, salt, and vinegar" words in their reports. As a result, 987 libel suits, none of which came to trial, were initiated against the Voters' League. A typical League report was that on Alderman John Powers, the "Prince of Boodlers," which suggested that Christmas turkeys and free beer were a poor substitute for proper representation. "Bathhouse John" Coughlin was denounced in the following terms:

Democratic candidate; lives at No. 165 Van Buren Street; the notorious "Bath-house John"; born near Waukegan, Ill., about 1854; been a leader in the politics of his ward for many years; was elected to Council in 1894; voted for all questionable ordinances; conducts a bath-house at No. 145 East Madison Street; patronized chiefly by gamblers and racing men; owns a string of racing horses; runs the "Silver Dollar Saloon" at No. 169 East Madison Street . . . ; saloon is a resort for prostitutes, gamblers and thieves; is uneducated and coarse in conduct; the friend of toughs and thugs; a disgrace to his ward and city; is supported by "Hinky Dink" Kenna, and "Johnnie" Morris.⁴⁸

Not all the negative reports were so colorful; some were coldly factual:

Nicholas Maggio, the regular democratic [*sic*] nominee by the personal selection of Maurice M. O'Connor, is the keeper of a basement saloon at 216 North Sangamon Street. He is an Italian and speaks English very imperfectly. He has no qualifications to represent the ward in the Council, and his candidacy is repudiated by most, if not all the respectable democrats. . . .

When dealing with a man who had already served on the council, the published reports gave the candidate's voting record in detail:

Stephen P. Revere resides at 185 North Morgan Street; served in Council from 1885 to 1887; re-elected in 1895; upon re-election

48. Report of the Municipal Voters' League, 1896, Minute Book; *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1896.

immediately lined up with gang supporting Calumet & Blue Island Ordinance in its every encroachment upon rights of city . . . ; supported following measures with as liberal conditions to grantee as could be desired: Clark Street Trolley, General Electric, Central Electric, Santa Fe, Union Loop, West Chicago Extension, North Chicago Electric and Trolley Ordinances passed this year; has repeatedly opposed asking compensation of franchise seekers. . . . The interests of the public demand his defeat.⁴⁹

Determined to conquer the politicians at their own game, Cole did not hesitate even at blackmail. If investigation disclosed information too private for publication, the candidate was sent for and "advised" to get off the ticket. While the League broke many a cherished reform principle, it broke none of the rules of practical politics.⁵⁰

As the 1896 aldermanic campaign approached its final days, the Municipal Voters' League increased its activities. League headquarters became a veritable madhouse of noisy politicians, reformers, reporters, printers, typists, messenger boys and favor-seekers. The League stepped up the tempo of its campaign. Wards were flooded with circulars and house-to-house canvassers; there were corner torchlight meetings and nightly parades. George E. Cole became a celebrity; he was photographed, caricatured, quoted, misquoted and nicknamed. He was the subject of such famous newspapermen as Finley Peter Dunne and John T. McCutcheon. Cole was a cartoonist's delight with his short, stout figure and his goatee; he was depicted as destroying the gang with dynamite, as a reaping machine cutting down the rascals, as a lion tamer and as a human buzz-saw. Cole captured the public imagination and, in so doing, gained

49. Report of the Municipal Voters' League, 1900, Minute Book; Peterson, *Barbarians in Our Midst*, 69-71; Seventeenth Ward report, March 29, 1897, Municipal Voters' League.

50. Steffens, "Chicago Half Free," 568.

valuable publicity for the League. All but one of Chicago's newspapers co-operated fully with the League's campaign. Among the city's editors, Herman H. Kohlsaas of the *Herald* and Victor F. Lawson of the *News* gave the most vigorous support to the League, in both editorial and news columns.⁵¹ Lawson's support went further; he acted as unofficial advisor, assigned several of his employees to work for the League while still on his payroll, instituted a fund-raising drive in his paper and personally contributed over \$4,500 to the League.⁵² This support from the newspapers was the League's greatest element of strength.

The result of the first aldermanic campaign was an unqualified victory for the League, a tribute to Cole's methods and a popular mandate for the continuation of the new organization. The League had endorsed candidates in thirty of the city's thirty-four wards, and the voters followed its recommendations in twenty-five, disregarding them in only five. Four of the ten men who had been renominated in the primary despite League opposition were defeated in the general election.⁵³

Cole did not permit his organization to rest after winning the election but pressed his advantage to make the League

51. Kent to Lincoln Steffens, June 14, 1903, William Kent Papers. Cole recognized the value of this support and wrote in the League's report of April, 1896: "What has been accomplished in this campaign is very largely due to the constant and cordial cooperation of the press. The newspapers have been untiring in furthering the purposes of the league, and have rendered a very valuable public service in connection with its work. Without their powerful support we would have made but slight impression in a first campaign."

52. See also Lawson to Cole, Feb. 4, 1897; to Philpot, April 17, 1897; telegrams to state legislators, Jan. 13, 1897; and to Cole, Jan. 29, March 6 and April 8, 1897; all in the Victor F. Lawson Papers.

53. Report of the Voters' League, 1896, Minute Book; Steffens, "Chicago Half Free," 569; Samuel W. Norton, *Chicago Traction: A History Political and Legislative* (Chicago, 1907), 76; *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 5, 7 and 8, 1896.

a council watchdog. Honest aldermen were still in the minority. The respectable men who had been elected needed guidance and encouragement, as well as protection from "the gang's" inducements, and the public's interest in council proceedings could not be permitted to flag.⁵⁴ Once again the Voters' League found recourse in publicity. Alderman William Kent, who formerly could have held a reform caucus with himself in a phone booth, now had partners. Among the newly elected aldermen was John M. Harlan, the son of Chief Justice Harlan. He and Kent deliberately used invective, agitation and satire to advertise aldermanic corruption and make the council meetings newsworthy. "We meant," one of them admitted, "only to make headlines for the papers. If we could keep the attention of the public upon the Council we could make clear what was going on there, and that would put meaning into our next campaign. And we certainly did fill the galleries and the newspapers."⁵⁵ Few council meetings were permitted to go by that Alderman Harlan did not threaten the boodlers with tar and feathers or a lamp-post lynching. The gang was not quite sure how serious the reformers were in their threats: Alderman Kent was constantly accompanied by an armed bodyguard, one "Doc" Green, an ex-gambler, ex-safeblower and ex-member of the Chicago underworld; the League was responsible for at least one violent outbreak that resulted in the destruction of desks and chairs; at crucial council meetings the front seats in the galleries were occupied by "bruisers" such as Bernard Rogers and Jack Corey who

54. Statistics on the election of men endorsed by the League are somewhat deceptive in that after election some joined the ranks of the boodlers.

55. Steffens, "Chicago Half Free," 570; Ida M. Tarbell, "How Chicago Is Finding Herself," *American Magazine*, LXVII (Nov., Dec., 1908): 33; Carter H. Harrison, *Stormy Years: The Autobiography of Carter H. Harrison* (New York, 1935), 100.

sympathized with the League; if a speaker indicated that he favored a boodle measure, Corey would lower a rope with a noose at the end and allow it to dangle in plain view.⁵⁶

Although the League's attempts at publicity were sometimes outlandish, they did keep popular attention focused on the city council. In the 1897 aldermanic election the Municipal Voters' League repeated its tactics of the year before, with the result that twenty-three honest men were sent to the council; fifteen of twenty-seven aldermen seeking re-election were defeated.⁵⁷ With each success the League grew in power and prestige. More and more, the major parties consulted with the League before making their nominations. The voters began to accept the League's pronouncements as fiat. In 1898 ten out of the nineteen outgoing aldermen with bad records were defeated. In 1899 only three of the thirty-six men elected to the council were known boodlers; the gang's ranks were reduced to seventeen in number. By 1900 honest men formed a dominant and overwhelming plurality in the city council. Only seven members of the old gang were left in office.⁵⁸

The victory for good government in securing the election of both honest and capable men can best be shown not by statistics but by the revolutionary changes which were soon apparent in Chicago. After the League's campaign of 1896, not a single boodle ordinance was enacted at City Hall; all franchises given out by the council contained provisions for compensating the city. The League converted public de-

56. Harrison, *Stormy Years*, 171, 174; Kent, "William Kent," 133, 139.

57. In 1897 the League also endorsed candidates for town assessor, but despite a great deal of public pressure it did not endorse mayoralty candidates. Report of the Voters' League, 1897, Minute Book.

58. Smith, "Council Reform," 355; Norton, *Chicago Traction*, 75-76; Report of the Voters' League, 1898, letter to contributors, April 15, 1899, Minute Book, Municipal Voters' League Papers.

spair with city government into popular respect, and for a twenty-year period Chicago had one of the best legislative bodies in America.⁵⁹

This complete regeneration of municipal affairs was accomplished in the face of the staunchest opposition. Well-entrenched boodlers did not surrender gracefully, nor did public service corporations recognize their financial obligations to the city without a fight.⁶⁰ Rottenness, corruption, blackmail and self-interest had existed for so long in the council that they were not eliminated easily. How then does one explain the Municipal Voters' League success?

Part of the answer has already been suggested. When George E. Cole became president of the League, he was given carte blanche to run the organization as he wished and to determine its scope. Cole's personality was such that he used this power to the utmost. His decisions were often arbitrary and dictatorial, but usually judicious. When Lyman J. Gage, who had been principally responsible for the authoritarian League presidency, interceded on behalf of the aldermanic aspirations of a close friend and prominent bank director, Cole displayed his absolute independence. The candidate in question was, among other things, the proprietor of a house of prostitution, and Cole refused to give him the League's endorsement. Gage pleaded and protested, but Cole declared that they had turned down politicians for similar reasons, and they "were not going to

59. Merriam, *Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* (New York, 1929), 21; editorial in *The Nation*, LXX (May 31, 1900): 411.

60. Space limitations prevent a discussion of the League's battle with Charles T. Yerkes, the street railway magnate who bribed aldermen to obtain liberal traction franchises. See Norton, *Chicago Traction*, and John A. Fairlie, "The Street Railway Question in Chicago," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXI (May, 1907): 371-404; "Corruption," Sidney C. Eastman Papers, Union League Civic and Arts Foundation, Chicago.

overlook in the friend of their friends what they condemned in some poor devil who had no friends."⁶¹

Similarly Cole refused to endorse Edward M. Stanwood (a respectable businessman who sought re-election to the council) because the man "had voted with the gang." Stanwood's many friends, among whom were some prominent "do-gooders," hoped to sway Cole by insisting that in every instance in which Stanwood voted for a boodle measure "it was not done corruptly, but that he might secure votes for some meritorious measure." But Cole gave a firm "no": "We regard this defense, which is put forward with confidence by men of your standing, as painful evidence of the low standard by which the public conduct of city officials has come to be measured by good citizens. Do you not know that this is one of the most insidious and common forms of legislative corruption?"⁶² These and other examples clearly demonstrate that Cole was determined to run the League consistently and properly. He believed, correctly, that the people of Chicago were willing to follow strong leadership "and would not object to dictation" from its reformers.⁶³

Also contributing to the success of the Municipal Voters' League was its adoption of the methods of politicians. "They do everything a politician does," declared Lincoln Steffens, "except buy votes and sell them. They play politics in the interest of the city."⁶⁴ When necessary, the League was opportunistic and made deals with corrupt ward leaders. In some cases the League supported the candidacy of a rascal in hopes of defeating a greater rascal. It played one party

61. Steffens, "Chicago Half Free," 569; Aldrich, "Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Six," 15.

62. *Chicago Tribune*, March 3 and 8, 1896.

63. Kent, "William Kent," 146-47; Kent to Lawson, n.d., Kent Papers.

64. Steffens, *Shame of the Cities*, 264.

off against the other to achieve its goals. At certain times the League even found it advantageous to use thugs.⁶⁵ And, like an astute politician, the League recognized its limitations and the danger of spreading itself too thin. It conducted no fight against the "machine" as such; it did not attempt to destroy or replace political parties; it did not undertake to draft, introduce or pass any piece of legislation; it did not enter the mayoral race nor did it endorse candidates for such jobs as assessors, collectors, supervisors or clerks. The League's single objective was the election of honest and capable aldermen; by thus limiting its scope, it avoided many of the pitfalls which had defeated other civic groups.

In the final analysis, however, the Municipal Voters' League was successful primarily because it capitalized on the basic desire of every citizen to have decent and honest government. The League in reality was nothing more and nothing less than a bureau of information. By investigating and publishing the records of politicians, it reduced the complexities of the political system which keep the voter several steps removed from his government. The Municipal Voters' League, with the close co-operation of the press, enabled the people to know the true character of candidates and served notice to politicians that they would stand or fall on their records.

65. Kent, "William Kent," 133.

Nehemiah Matson — Historian of Northern Illinois

The author, Mrs. Ruth Ewers Haberkorn, died at her home in Princeton, Illinois, on June 26, 1959 — not long after submitting this article to the Journal. Her subject, Nehemiah Matson, was also a Princeton resident and was one of the most prolific and entertaining amateur historians of nineteenth-century Illinois. Because of his indiscriminate mixing of fact and legend, however, scholars generally discount his books as valid sources. But he does provide valuable clues for the researcher, and some of his apparently legendary tales can be verified.

NEHEMIAH MATSON of Bureau County, Illinois, was one of the little-known local historians of the Midwest who preserved for us the stories and legends of pioneer life. As a surveyor he knew every inch of land in his home county, as a neighbor he knew every settler, as a map maker he supplied the first map of Bureau County — one so accurate that all maps since that time have been based on it. Matson was a natural storyteller, and after his busy early career he found time to put in writing the stories he had been told.

One of his books, *Map of Bureau County . . . with Sketches of Its Early Settlement*, published in 1867, is now so rare that it is a collector's item. By the time he wrote this book, Matson says, so many of the early settlers were dead or had moved to other states that it was with "much difficulty" that he collected his material: "Twenty years ago, it would

have been comparatively easy; but twenty years hence it could not be done at all, with any degree of certainty." He does not claim that the book is a complete history of the county; instead, it was compiled "merely to collect and preserve facts in relation to . . . early settlement, so that at some future day a full and elaborate history may be given." He also states that he makes "no pretension to refined literature, or a classical arrangement."

That future day of a full county history arrived with the work of the commercial historians, H. C. Bradsby in 1885 and George B. Harrington in 1906. Bradsby's history is the more accurate of the two, and practically all his data that did not come from state and county records were taken from Matson's books.

From the Matson genealogy, from a family Bible and from courthouse and library records of his will and death, the main facts of Matson's life can be learned. He left no descendants, and since his wife, who survived him, willed the home and furnishings to her sister, his personal papers are not available.

Nehemiah Matson was born July 19, 1816, on a farm near Jacobsburg, Belmont County, Ohio, the son of Enos and Elizabeth Mercer Matson. He had eight brothers and sisters, but, except for one, none of their descendants now lives in Bureau County. The present Matson kin in Bureau County are descendants of an uncle.

When Nehemiah was twenty years old, he came to Illinois with his family. His father bought land on Bureau Creek, at approximately \$1.25 an acre, in what was later to be Dover Township, several miles northwest of the five-year-old village of Princeton.

On May 19, 1842, Nehemiah married Electa Mead and bought his own farm near the homestead and two miles

north and a quarter of a mile east of Bureau County's famed Red Covered Bridge.¹ Courthouse records show that this farm was originally a military grant, for which the patent had been issued in 1851 and signed by President Millard Fillmore.

Nehemiah was not long content with laboriously breaking prairie sod, for he was intensely interested in surveying. In Ohio he had received a better than usual education with one year of college, but apparently he learned surveying by working at it.

Although Matson had probably moved to town some years earlier, legal records show that he purchased property in 1857, at 303 East Peru Street, Princeton, at a cost of \$3,500.² The woodcut picture of his home in the 1875 *Atlas of Bureau County* shows a large, fine-looking house, facing south with a windowed cupola, several ells on east and north, many long twelve-paned windows, a corner bay window and a porch on the southeast front ell. A fence surrounded the grounds. Matson toured Europe in 1868, and from Italy he shipped home several large iron figures of animals as ornaments for his grounds. (One of these, a deer, is now

1. This bridge, built in 1863, is about three and one-half miles north of Princeton; a sign on State Route 26 points to its location slightly to the west. One of less than a dozen covered bridges in Illinois, it is said to be the only one painted red.

Also see "Bureau County's Red Covered Bridge" by Ina Shugart Hoover in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXVII (July, 1934): 232.

2. Records of the Bureau County circuit clerk give the measurements of his town property as 120 feet, east to west, and 165 feet, north to south. The property was purchased from Sarah C. and August C. Prout. Mrs. Matson's will, in the county clerk's office, shows that after her death in 1890 the house and furnishings became the property of her sister, Mrs. Dorcas Fish. The home was then purchased by A. N. Stevenson, who moved into it in 1893. He remodeled it extensively several times, removing the cupola, modernizing windows, building a then-stylish round porch and moving an ell from the east to the north side. Although more than one hundred years old, this well-built house is in excellent condition.

on a lawn farther east on Peru Street, and one of the iron dogs is on an Elm Place lawn.) It was in this home that Matson died in 1883 and his wife seven years later.

When the Matson family moved to the Princeton vicinity, the state of Illinois was slowly surveying county lines. At that time, the Bureau country was a part of Putnam County, with the county seat at Hennepin on the Illinois River, approximately twelve miles southeast of Princeton. Bureau was one of four precincts into which the county was divided. Two of these were on the east side of the river — Hennepin and Sandy; and two on the west — Bureau and Spoon River. To transact any legal business, the western division settlers had to make long, hard trips over rutted or muddy trails and then ferry or ford the Illinois River. They finally rebelled and signed a petition for separation, with the result that the formation of Bureau County was authorized by the state legislature, February 28, 1837.

This separation could not take place, however, the law said, without a majority vote of the people of the county, and the residents of Hennepin and the other east-siders objected strenuously to the proposal. A most exciting election took place on the first Monday of March, 1837, with the Bureau County supporters winning by thirty votes. Matson writes that many illegal votes were cast on both sides, "but it was contended that the end justified the means." He tells how he and other minor young men were forced to vote and reports the rumor that some women in men's clothing also voted.³

The village of Princeton became the seat of the new county. When the Matsons moved there, the government had

3. N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), 232-37, 334-36; H. C. Bradsby, ed., *History of Bureau County* (Chicago, 1885), 267.

Nehemiah Matson



surveyed a tentative plat for the town and township so that young Nehemiah had base lines from which to work when he commenced his surveying. For thirty years he was kept busy surveying settlers' farms and villages, but he finally gathered together his maps and many notations of word-of-mouth stories and wrote his first book, *Map . . . with Sketches*.

This book was printed in 1867 on rag paper by a Chicago firm, George H. Fergus. In addition to detailed maps of the county and of each township, the book included some short sketches of historical pioneer life. His one great purpose, Matson wrote, was to make available, in printed form, information which affected all landowners of the region and to preserve their history for Illinois and the Midwest. The finished maps were made under his supervision by Edward Mendel, a lithographer and map publisher of Chicago.⁴ Symbols were used to indicate locations of public interest

4. In *Map of Bureau County, Illinois, with Sketches of Its Early Settlement* (Chicago, 1867), 5, Matson writes, this "mechanical work was let for several hundred dollars more than would have been required for ordinary map work."

such as steepled churches, railroads, county-owned swamp-lands, timber and houses. As accurate as he tried to be, he felt that there were mistakes and that there might be criticism, but, he wrote, "it is a move in the right direction."

Six other books were written and published by Nehemiah Matson, and he helped compile two additional volumes. Following is a list of his books in order of publication:

Map of Bureau County, Illinois, with Sketches of Its Early Settlement (Chicago: George H. Fergus, Book and Job Printer, 1867, illus., pp. 88.)

Beyond the Atlantic; or Eleven Months Tour in Europe, Egypt, and Palestine, with Illustrations (Princeton, Ill.: Republican Job Printing Establishment, 1870, pp. 307.)

Reminiscences of Bureau County in Two Parts, with Illustrations (Princeton, Ill.: Republican Book and Job Office, 1872, pp. 406.) This is Matson's most interesting and widely read book.

French and Indians of the Illinois River (Princeton, Ill.: Republican Job Printing Establishment, 1874, pp. 260.)

Memories of Shaubena; with Incidents Relating to the Early Settlement of the West (Chicago: D. B. Cooke & Co., 1878, illus., pp. 269.)

Pioneers of Illinois; Containing a Series of Sketches Relating to Events That Occurred Previous to 1813; Also Narratives of Many Thrilling Incidents Connected with the Early Settlements of the West, Drawn from History, Tradition and Personal Reminiscence (Chicago: Knight & Leonard Printers, 1882, pp. 306.)

Raconter: Four Romantic Stories Relating to Pioneer Life, Scenes in Foreign Countries, Religious Fanaticism, Love, Murder, &c., All of Which Are Founded on Facts (Chicago: Geo. Hazlitt & Co., 1882, illus., pp. 219.) This book contains four stories, supposedly true, which he picked up on his European trip but is far from equal to any of his other books.

Several of his books were published in two and three editions. The two books with which Matson helped are:

Atlas of Bureau County and the State of Illinois (Chicago: Warner and Beers, Publishers, 1875, pp. 89.) In this large detailed

book is a two-page history of Bureau County "by N. Matson." The atlas contains maps of townships and towns, valuable for reference, and is profusely illustrated with woodcuts.

The Voters and Tax-Payers of Bureau County, Illinois (Chicago: H. F. Kett & Co., 1877, illus., pp. 411.) This volume contains a sixty-seven-page history of the county, for which the publisher was "indebted to N. Matson," and Matson's county maps.

Matson's personality and his individuality are reflected to some extent in his histories, but it is in his 1870 book, *Beyond the Atlantic*, that he reveals the most about himself. In 1868 he had taken an eleven months' tour through Europe, Egypt and Palestine and filled many notebooks with his observations, on which the book was based. As a result, the book is vastly informative about travel of that time. There was not much that his tremendous curiosity did not lead him to see in the thirteen countries visited, and he did not limit himself to the usual tourist sights; he talked with ratcatchers in England and went up in a balloon in Paris. Since he was accustomed to accurate research, he noted the exact sizes of churches and the contour of lands. He frequently complained of the dense population, especially in London when someone tramped on his corns as he was walking across London Bridge. When visiting the Catacombs in Rome, he declared that the statements of the guides and monks "require more credulity than I possess, to believe." He stubbornly refused to take off his hat when the Pope passed by.

Though he was critical and provincial, he nevertheless read Pliny, as well as standard reference books, in an attempt to better understand what he was seeing. Nothing was too much for his inquiring mind, and physical danger did not daunt him; his guide at Mount Vesuvius had to pull him back from the edge of the crater.

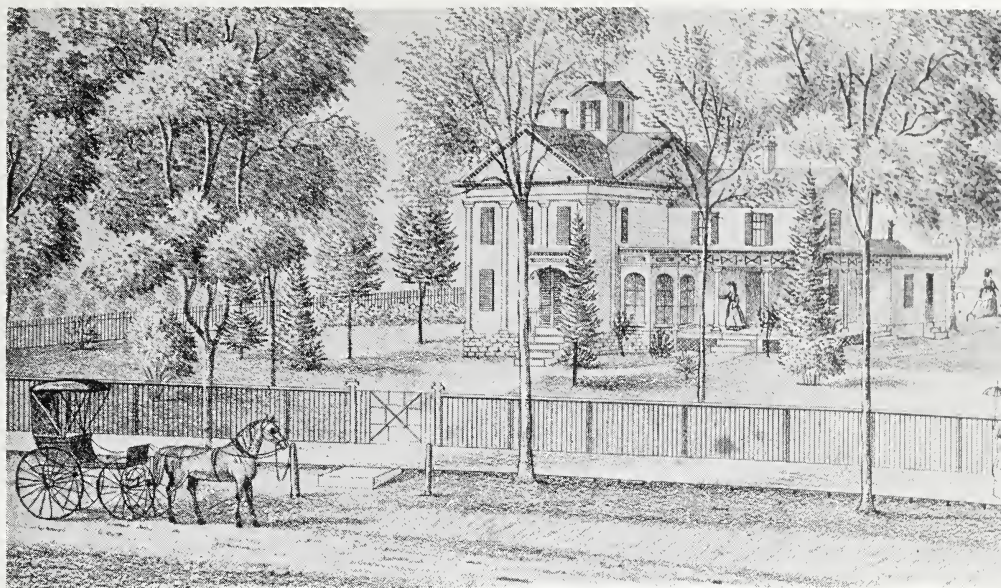
The Alps monuments to William Tell made him believe that Tell was not merely a legend. He climbed mountains and was entranced by Alpine horns and bells. The old stone bridges throughout Europe were a joy to him. Art, Brussels lace, loaves of bread five to six feet long, zoos, the cost of Holland's dikes, prisons under palaces, gorgeous cathedrals, the crowded, unsanitary cities, all these interested the adventurous Nehemiah.

Both Matson's humor and ire were aroused once in Copenhagen when he was besieged by newsmen after the publication of an editorial claiming that this honest Illinois surveyor had really been a governor of Illinois who had stolen much money. Beggars swarmed to his door, enlarging on the story and calling him a "stingy cuss."

In Egypt and the Near East, he rebelled at overcharges and often frightened off Arabs who annoyed him with their constant demand for "baksheesh." Once when some of them were carrying him across a slough on the way to the pyramids, they stopped and demanded more money to go on. But this big, strong American kicked his bearers until red marks appeared on their legs, and they were soon glad to go on for the original fee. Matson remained suspicious throughout his journey and never let his passport and valuable papers out of his hands.

Jerusalem, where he spent fifteen days, and other biblical sites fascinated him, but he was often skeptical of many of the so-called "biblical spots." Evidently Matson was a good Bible student. Once in Jerusalem, he fearlessly went into the loathsome leper quarter, where he was surrounded by diseased beggars. Another time he measured an olive tree which, he reported, was nineteen feet in circumference.

Two years after the appearance of his travel volume, Mat-



Nehemiah Matson's home on East Peru Street in Princeton, as pictured in the Atlas of Bureau Co. and the State of Illinois (Chicago, 1875).

son published his most interesting book, *Reminiscences of Bureau County*, which is divided into two parts: the first, a series of stories with little attempt at chronological order, and the second, a history of Bureau County and much of northern Illinois.⁵

Reminiscences is filled with captivating stories, some true, some legendary, some humorous, many of them tragic but a few with happy endings. One story, now known to be only legend, tells of the wedding festivities of an early settler's daughter. Two future presidents — Zachary Taylor of the United States and his future son-in-law, Jefferson

5. A Matson admirer, Ward Schori, editor of the weekly *Tiskilwa Chief*, reprinted 200 copies in 1937, setting the type by hand. The twelve illustrations in the reprint are from the original woodcuts which Matson used, all but one of them being from his book on Shaubena. Sixteen of these precious woodcuts, found in the basement of a Matson relative's home, are now in the possession of the Matson Public Library.

Davis of the Confederacy — were said not only to have been present but to have caused considerable trouble.⁶ Another story deals with the horrible Indian Creek massacre and the captivity of the two Hall girls. A third tells of a stranger, "Uncle Peter," who came to the Henry Thomas cabin for an overnight visit and stayed for twelve years.

Henry Thomas, Matson states, was the first white settler in Bureau County, having built his cabin in the West Bureau timber in 1828. Thomas was soon followed by other settlers, and in 1829 "Dad Joe" Smith built a log house at the northern boundary of the county. His log home soon became a tavern for Peoria to Galena travelers, and his later brick home is still in use. In 1831 the Hampshire Colony from Northampton, Massachusetts, sponsored by the Congregational Church, established the town that was to become Princeton.⁷

Among the most influential and important pioneer families of Princeton were the four brothers of William Cullen Bryant who came from Massachusetts a year or so after the Hampshire Colony. The Bryants loved land and started fine orchards and nurseries that are still in use. They were also responsible for planting elms and other trees along the streets of Princeton, which today is known as the "City of Elms."⁸

Another story told in Part I of *Reminiscences* is of the unusual weather phenomenon which occurred during the Matsons' first winter in Illinois. On December 20, 1836, southerly winds had blown for two days with sunny, spring-like weather turning the snow to slush.

6. See *Jour. I.S.H.S.*, XVI (April-July, 1923): 17n.

7. Matson, *Reminiscences*, 251-65.

8. George V. Bohman, "A Poet's Mother," in *Jour. I.S.H.S.*, XXXIII (June, 1940): 166-89.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the wind changed to the northwest, and blew almost a gale, and within a few hours the thermometer changed eighty degrees. Forest trees cracked like guns; sleds and wagons which were standing in the street froze fast in their tracks. . . . and a number of people in different parts of the west perished. . . . In a number of instances, cattle and hogs, while standing by the side of a building to shield themselves from the wind, . . . were frozen fast in their tracks, and found dead next morning.⁹

An entire chapter in the *Reminiscences* is devoted to the "Underground Railroad" and to Princeton's Congregational minister, Owen Lovejoy, who was a brother of the martyred Elijah Lovejoy of Alton. Although Lovejoy is one of the few leaders of the northern Illinois abolition movement remembered today, Matson mentions many others who gave their time and risked their lives to help runaway slaves to freedom in Canada. The Lovejoy home, which is still standing, was refurnished in period style some years ago for use as a museum.¹⁰

In the fall of 1836, the year the Matson family moved to Bureau County, Nehemiah became well acquainted with Shaubena (or Shabbona), a chief of the Potawatomi, and over forty years later he published a book about this true "white man's friend." He tells in the preface that

in the fall of 1836, Shaubena and his band were encamped on Main Bureau creek, at the crossing of the Peoria and Galena road, where they remained a number of weeks, engaged in hunting and fishing. This camp was near my father's residence, and . . . I visited it almost daily. . . . I had many long interviews with the chief, and learned much of his history, also various items relating to Western Indians, Black Hawk war, etc. Although Shaubena spoke and understood English very imperfectly, by the assistance

9. Matson, *Reminiscences*, 375.

10. *Ibid.*, 358-70; see Ruth E. Haberkorn, "Owen Lovejoy in Princeton," *Jour. I.S.H.S.*, XXXVI (Sept., 1943): 284-315.

of his son, Smoke, a bright . . . lad of about fifteen . . . , I was able to comprehend his story, and have therefore given it according to my recollection.

This historian insisted that the memory of Shaubena and his good deeds should be preserved, for it was "through his persistent labor and influence, a union of the different tribes for the purpose of making war on the frontier settlements was prevented."

Shaubena told Matson he had been born about 1776 in an Indian village on the Kankakee River in present Will County. His father, an Ottawa chief, came from Michigan with Chief Pontiac when they fled after Pontiac's defeat. Shaubena's marriage to the daughter of a Potawatomi chief eventually made him a chief of that tribe. Always friendly to the whites, he often risked his life on long rides to warn settlers of Indians on the warpath. After the buffalo and elk left the Illinois prairie, Shaubena advised his people to follow the elk and go west.¹¹

This friend of the white man adhered strictly to the religion of his ancestors although missionaries always found his tepee open to them. He even helped to establish a Christian mission and is said to have permitted his squaws and two daughters to be baptized as Christians. Always pious, he prayed often to the "Great Spirit."¹² Shaubena died July 17, 1859, at his home on the Illinois River and is buried in the Morris cemetery near the river.

In the preface to his last local history, *Pioneers of Illinois* (1882), Matson gives a picture of his method of painstaking work. He writes:

The object of collecting the early traditions of the county has been for the purpose of supplying the many missing links in his-

11. Matson, *Memories of Shaubena* (Chicago, 1882), 17-18, 51-52.

12. *Ibid.*, 62-63, 75.

tory, and also to correct some of its errors. To gather these materials has been attended with much labor, the work of more than forty years, and various means of attaining facts have been resorted to. In these researches many new items have been developed, errors in history corrected, but the work of harmonizing all conflicting statements has not been an entire success.

While the Indians were still in the country I had frequent interviews with them, and listened to their accounts of events that had come down through many generations. In order to obtain more of their early history I employed an educated half-breed of western Kansas to collect traditions among his people, especially those whose ancestors formerly lived along the Illinois river.

At different times I visited the descendants of early French pioneers now living on the American Bottom, and heard their stories of past events which had come down through the third and fourth generations. I also visited places of early historical renown, at some of which relics of the past can still be seen, and the descriptions herein given of these localities are drawn from personal observations. Many of the incidents narrated in this book were obtained from persons who figured in them, and every statement not well authenticated has been excluded from these pages. . . .

N.M.

Matson died on October 3, 1883, after a four months' illness. His obituary in the weekly *Bureau County Republican* stated that all of his books except *Raconter* had been "paying investments." The *Republican*, which had published several of the books, mentioned that he had another work half finished when he lost his eyesight because of paralysis of the optic nerve.

A book lover as well as a writer, Matson stipulated in his will that, at the death of his wife, Princeton was to receive \$30,000 for a public library.¹³ Although Mrs. Matson had agreed to the will, for some unaccountable reason she broke it. Eventually, however, the city did receive \$11,862.67 from Matson's estate for the library. It was started in 1889

13. Bureau county clerk's files.

with the purchase of a building on the east side of the South Main Street business district. This library was used for twenty-three years until the present brick building on Courthouse Square was erected in 1913. Finally Matson's dream of a good library for his fellow townsmen had come true, although many other gifts were necessary to make it possible. In honor of its founder, the new library was named the Matson Public Library.¹⁴

¹⁴. Wills of both Mr. and Mrs. Matson, Bureau county clerk's office, and records in the Matson Public Library.

John A. McClernand and the House Speakership Struggle of 1859

Professor of history at Western Illinois University, Victor Hicken was graduated from Southern Illinois University and took his doctorate at the University of Illinois. He is a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society. His article on "The Virden and Pana Mine Wars of 1898" appeared in the Summer, 1959, issue of the Journal.

A CLEAR INDICATION of the trend of national politics in December of 1859 can be seen in a careful study of the membership of the House of Representatives. The Republican Party — with 109 votes — was in the ascendancy but did not yet completely dominate this body of the national legislature. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party, long in control, was now outnumbered, with only 101 votes. The situation was further complicated by the fact that thirteen of the Democratic representatives were bitterly antiadministration as a result of President James Buchanan's pre-Lecompton stand on the Kansas issue. These dissidents, coupled with the southern extremists or "ultras," made the Democratic caucus an unwieldy one. Standing between the two major parties were twenty-seven members of the American Party — the remnants of the southern branch of the old Whig Party. Their peculiar position, in view of the lack of majority by either major party, gave them a power

much greater than their small number would indicate.¹

There were other signs of the times, too. Stephen A. Douglas, fresh from his victory in Illinois over Abraham Lincoln, was pointing toward the Democratic National Convention to be held in 1860. Despite his triumph he had one problem: he had offended Southern and administration Democrats alike in his fight against the Lecompton Constitution, and now he must create an aura of amity and compromise about himself. This could be done only by drawing the southerners and the Douglas supporters together in a common cause. Such a cause appeared in the fight for control of the speakership of the House of Representatives in 1859. Unfortunately for Douglas, however, there was a dearth of good Democratic floor leaders in the House. The Republicans, on the other hand, were blessed with such able men as Roscoe Conkling, Justin Morrill, Schuyler Colfax and Elihu Washburne. Probably the best that the Douglas Democrats could offer against this formidable talent was the clever and witty John Alexander McClernand of Illinois.²

By 1859 McClernand had a long and colorful career in American politics behind him. He had gone up to the General Assembly from Shawneetown, Illinois, in 1836 as a representative of "Egypt." There, in Vandalia, he was thrown into association with the most brilliant body of politicians Illinois has ever produced: those who became the best known were Lincoln and Douglas; but one must not forget Lyman Trumbull, later a United States Senator from Illinois. In the initiation and enactment of the Illinois Internal Im-

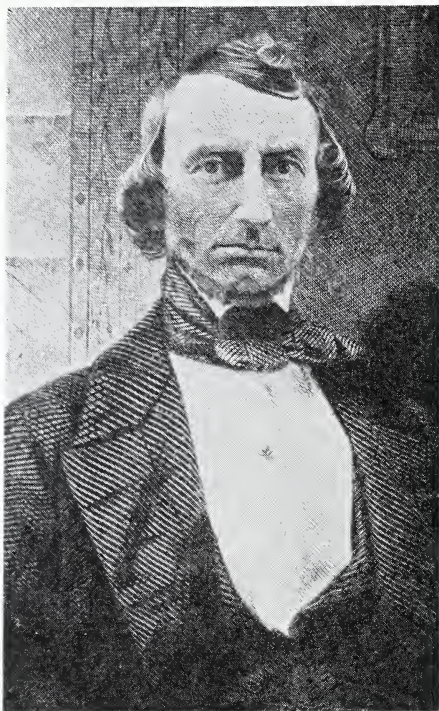
1. Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), 271; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1892-1919), II: 374.

2. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), II: 113-14.

provement scheme in 1837, for example, McClermand was an important factor. He went on to serve several terms in the General Assembly, with an interim as a member of the Illinois-Michigan Canal Board. Finally, he was rewarded by his party with the nomination to Congress in 1842. His natural talent for leadership, born of the rough and tumble politics of the Illinois frontier, served to project him to the forefront of national events. James Polk's surprising success in the election of 1844 brought McClermand into the circle of presidential advisers. In time, he was to become one of the most trusted of these; and it was he who advocated the administration's provocative Mexican policy. By 1849 he was one of the Democratic Party's strongest leaders in the House. He fought the Wilmot Proviso and became the party's whip in the lower house on the Compromise issue of 1850. His own pet project was the Railroad Land Grant Bill, which he helped push through in 1850. With this success he retired from the House, returning to Springfield to take up the practice of law. It is not incidental in the story of McClermand's life to remember not only that he had a law office close to that of Lincoln and Herndon but also that he actually was Lincoln's neighbor. Though Lincoln was a Republican and McClermand a Democrat, the two were good friends and had a thorough and well-founded respect for each other.³

The parallel between the lives of McClermand and Lincoln goes further than circumstances of birth, profession and early political career. Though both men "retired" from politics to the more lucrative practice of law, both were propelled back into the arena of politics by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Both opposed it; but McClermand's opposi-

3. Don C. Seitz, *Lincoln the Politician* (New York, 1931), 63.



John A. McClernand, as he appeared at about the time of the speakership battle

tion more obviously required political courage. Lincoln was a Whig, soon to be a Republican, and could oppose the act on the simple grounds of party difference; but McClernand was a Democrat and a colleague of Douglas, who had sponsored the bill. When he broke temporarily with the latter in 1854, there were reverberations through all the echelons of the Illinois Democratic Party. In time, McClernand and Douglas came together again — and in 1859 McClernand was re-elected to the House from the Springfield district. His opponent in this election was John Palmer, another Democrat who had broken with Douglas in 1854 and who eventually became a Republican.

There has been a great deal of critical comment about McClernand's personality, probably because of his peculiar inability to resolve a political situation in such a manner as to emerge better than second best from it. He was second

to Douglas for many years in the Democratic Party, probably because he was too much like Douglas in personality; and the party could take only one Douglas. He became so inextricably entangled with political and military intrigue during the Civil War that in the biographies of Lincoln, Grant, Chase, Halleck or Stanton the name of McClelland is sure to appear. Most authors tend to write him down, simply because his consuming ambition and vanity are easier to describe than his better qualities. He was intensely patriotic, so much so that he — along with John A. Logan — saved southern Illinois for the Union during the war. He had a marvelous turn of political phraseology: one writer has described it as a great “fluency of speech.” He was also loyal and intelligent; even Douglas trusted him with virtually the entire management of his campaign for the presidency, beginning with the speakership fight in 1859.⁴

From the opening session of the House that December, the signs of the yawning chasm in the Democratic Party were evident. President Buchanan’s annual message urging unity and tranquillity brought almost everything else but those pleasant goals. In fact, the Douglas wing of the party was thoroughly offended by the message. McClelland, who had never learned to like the conciliator (which Buchanan thought himself to be), felt that the President’s statement was one of “national calamity.”⁵ Charles Lanphier, who necessarily emerges in this story because he was the editor of the Democratic *Illinois* (Springfield) *State Register* and the public voice of Douglas and McClelland, echoed the sentiment of the latter by declaring the speech

4. Usher Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar in Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 71-72.

5. McClelland to Lanphier, Jan. 3, 1860, Lanphier Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

to be one of "rank treason." Lanphier was willing to go even further; if the nation should go to war, he said, it should go on "war principles."⁶ This was the atmosphere in which the speakership struggle was born — distrust, fear, threat of war, presidential inaction and the simple necessity Douglas men faced of bringing the South and West together within the Democratic Party for the sake of their own candidate.

The post of Speaker of the House was extremely important, for at that time the Speaker exercised control over committee appointments. For Douglas, the selection of the Speaker was crucial — he hoped to make the post a point of unity between less radical elements of the South and his own followers. Under the leadership of McClelland, Douglas forces in the House coalesced around the candidacy of Thomas S. Bocock, a venerable party man from Virginia. Bocock was not the best available candidate, but he was a southerner and from one of the more moderate states. Douglas men could lose little and gain much from supporting him. McClelland, by virtue of a decision made in a party caucus, was given the difficult task of pushing the Bocock drive on the House floor. Thus, the Illinoisan was presented a two-fold problem: First, he had to win the speakership for Bocock by uniting both southern "radicals" and American Party elements with the moderate Democrats in order to overcome Republican numerical superiority. Second, he had to accomplish this in the manner that would best help Douglas get the presidential nomination in 1860, without splitting the party.⁷

The Republicans, in turn, had some difficulty in choosing

6. Lanphier to McClelland, Dec. 27, 1859, McClelland Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

7. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy*, 273.

a candidate to pit against Bocock. After considerable discussion in party caucus, it was agreed that the man pulling the most support on the opening vote on the House floor would have the support of the entire party on succeeding ballots. As it happened, John Sherman of Ohio drew the largest Republican vote, but when the party began to rally to the Sherman banner, a development of import occurred on the floor. A resolution aimed at Sherman was introduced by John B. Clark of Missouri. It declared that any congressman who had endorsed Hinton Helper's book *The Impending Crisis of the South* should not be elected Speaker. The book, published in 1857, was a condemnation of slavery, and many Republicans had signed a circular endorsing it, for the author's proceeds were to be used to buy additional copies to be circulated in the South. Sherman had never read the book, but he had signed the circular, and now his chance for the speakership was imperiled by the newly introduced resolution.⁸

The Helper resolution acted as a spark to tinder in the House. Tempers flared on both sides of the aisle. It was common for representatives to be armed, and pandemonium nearly resulted in the galleries one day when a revolver fell from the pocket of a Democratic congressman from New York. One acute gallery observer noted that almost every man in the House carried a bowie knife or a revolver, and sometimes both. The peaceful unity that the Douglas partisans hoped for had not yet arrived.⁹ Back in Springfield, William Herndon, Abraham Lincoln's law partner and a professed friend of McClelland's, jocularly wrote the latter that he had read in the paper that Congress had "got the

8. Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, II: 117.

9. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1-60.

nigger up in the House" already. "Can you kick him out when you want him gone?" he wanted to know.¹⁰

From the opening gambit of the struggle to put Bocock in the Speaker's chair, McClernand realized the possible insurmountability of the handicaps placed before the Douglas men. But the principle of party loyalty, as well as the chance to neutralize anti-Douglas elements in the party, made him persevere. Although Bocock might never reach the necessary winning vote, the greater goal to McClernand was the importance of gaining presidential support for Douglas. Lanphier, back in Springfield, also realized the improbability of getting Bocock in the chair and wrote McClernand that he must warn Douglas to be extremely careful in the next few weeks. The editor felt that Douglas could commit himself too readily to another candidate, an action which would cause the presidential hopeful to go down to defeat almost immediately.¹¹

Still, the master plan of the Douglas men seemed to be working. Though Bocock could not pick up much extra support, a kind of Yuletide peace and good will descended upon the Democrats in the last week of December. McClernand wrote to Lanphier that "ultraism" was definitely declining in the House and the future looked "more encouraging to moderate and conservative men."¹²

In the hauling and tacking of the Douglasites toward the center of the party, McClernand's reputation grew. Southerners, particularly those from Texas and Mississippi, were beginning to see the necessity for pulling the diverse elements of the party together. In this development, McClernand appeared to many as a proper and judicious conciliator.

10. Herndon to McClernand, Dec. 8, 1859, McClernand Coll.

11. Lanphier to McClernand, Dec. 27, 1859, *ibid.*

12. McClernand to Lanphier, Jan. 3, 1860, Lanphier Papers.

"He does not speak often, but upon all leading questions, and is always successful," one Washington correspondent wrote.¹³ In Springfield, approbation for his deeds in Congress came from both the press and his constituents.¹⁴

When the House convened again in the new year, the push to elect Bocock continued. The steam had gone out of the drive, however, and it appeared obvious that the Democrats would have to find another man. Soon, and almost inevitably, McClernand's name was put forward as a possible candidate. His immediate response was to issue a disclaimer. Bocock still remained to him a man "worthy of the support of any Democrat." While other party men were sliding away from Bocock, McClernand still heralded the Virginian as a "true and tried" man, and not one of a "fanatical class of political recusants who are pledged to oppose Judge Douglas, for president, should he be nominated at Charleston."¹⁵ When Lanphier wrote to offer his support of the McClernand nomination in the House, the latter answered that he wanted to "set an example of self denial."¹⁶ Despite these protestations, however, support began to come to McClernand at a quicker pace. The more he supported compromise as a panacea for the national problem, the greater he loomed as a compromise candidate for Speaker.

By the middle of January the McClernand boom could not be ignored, even by McClernand himself. The Douglasites had hoped to avoid this development, for they wanted the Springfield Democrat free to operate as a moderating influence both in the House and at the National Democratic Convention. Compromise, conciliation and barter were to

13. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), April 25, 1860.

14. James Shields to McClernand, Feb. 11, 1860, McClernand Coll.

15. McClernand to John Henry, Jan. 14, 1860, *ibid.*

16. McClernand to Lanphier, Dec. 22, 1859, Lanphier Papers.

be the foundations of the entire Douglas presidential movement. Only after considerable pressure did the Illinois delegation agree to push the McClellan campaign all the way. Since McClellan had always had good contacts in Texas as a result of his part in the Polk administration, it was decided to ask Representative John Reagan of that state to lead the floor fight.¹⁷

For McClellan, the task of operating as a moderate candidate was not easy. His natural inclination was toward quick judgment and decisive action, and it was difficult for him to subordinate those qualities to compromise. He was, in essence, the perfect product of the bitter and vindictive political battles of the frontier. In late January, for example, he engaged in a savage verbal exchange with Representative John Hickman of Pennsylvania, who had accused the Democratic Party of being clearly in the hands of the slaveholder faction of the South. McClellan rose to the challenge and, amidst cheers and hisses from the floor and galleries, sarcastically described Hickman as a political weather vane and traitor. To McClellan, Hickman was a perfect example of that type of politician guilty of leading the nation toward disaster. His summation, however, was once again a masterful attempt at conciliation within the Democratic Party. "Whether from the North or the South," he said, "we are equal members of the same common party; standing upon the same platform of principles and devoting our energies and efforts to the same common purpose."¹⁸

As Herndon had noted, the Negro was the unavoidable problem of the day. No matter how McClellan gyrated between the southern and northern factions within the party,

17. *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1860.

18. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 492.

the chattel slave was ever present as a symbol of difference. For the northern Democrats any stand on the issue would be tenuous and dangerous and possibly indefensible from a moral standpoint. The best they had been able to do through the decade of the 1850's was to support the Douglas "popular sovereignty" principle, and this had been badly battered by *Dred Scott vs. Sanford*, and the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Now, however, in 1860, it was the last redoubt for the Douglas men; and McClelland, in the midst of the speakership battle, took the occasion to defend it. There is the possibility that he felt it to be the only ground of compromise between the North and the South. Any discussion of slavery would do no good, he argued, and would end only in "infinite mischief." It would be best for all concerned to allow for the normal and evolutionary development of the nation. Slavery, he averred, would be restrained or extended by the natural effects of geography and climate and by the law of "self interest" operating in each community. Any interference by Congress in these natural circumstances could only confuse and pervert national development, he concluded.¹⁹

These sentiments, plus a belligerent defense of "compromise," brought considerable support to the campaign to put McClelland in the Speaker's chair. Even the extremist South Carolina delegation gave some backing to the Douglas man. Representative J. B. Ashmore of that state arose to speak lengthily about the fine character of McClelland and why he would be a good choice as Speaker. Although Ashmore differed with McClelland on the issue of popular sovereignty, he thought the time had come to settle the urgent problem facing the House: the election of a Speaker.

19. *Ibid.*, 859-60.

McClerland was an honorable Democrat, Ashmore concluded, and would make his decisions in the best interest of the whole country.²⁰ Jefferson Davis, the senator from Mississippi, also appeared on the floor of the House in order to whip up support for McClerland, while Howell Cobb of Alabama, long a friend of the Illinoisan, worked diligently for a McClerland victory.²¹

In addition to the quite natural opposition of the Republican Party to McClerland, three other factions tended to coalesce against him. First of all, certain southern members of the American Party opposed him simply because he was a Democrat, and, in order to win, McClerland had to have the support of this group. Second, McClerland had opposed the Lecompton Constitution, and certain administration Democrats were against him because of that action. Third, some radical southern extremists were not ready to compromise on anything, particularly on a Democrat with popular sovereignty views. Unfortunately for McClerland, these three factions united with the Republican opposition at exactly the right moment to block his election. This, basically, is the story of McClerland's life. No other representative had worked more diligently for the cause of moderation; but moderation was going out of style in 1860. In late January he had been only one of many candidates for the speakership, but slowly his vote total climbed to within striking distance of the needed majority. Finally, when it appeared that McClerland could, with a little extra effort, win the election, the administration took a hand. A Buchanan man, Senator James S. Green of Missouri, appeared in the House, gathered up the support of nine Democratic

20. *Ill. State Register*, Feb. 15, 1860.

21. *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 29, 1860.

“ultras” and a few “South Americans” and blocked McClermand’s grand attempt to win the chair.²²

A kind of bewildered disappointment followed this defeat. Many westerners felt that some Democrats had voted against McClermand simply because he was a Douglas man. As the *Illinois State Register* recorded, even though Ashmore of South Carolina, Davis of Mississippi and Cobb of Alabama had given strong support to McClermand, others from those states voted against him.²³ Nor did the old line Whigs escape the bitterness of the western Democrats. “So the d---d South Americans would not come up on you after all hands had supported their man,” Lanphier complained to McClermand.²⁴ It was to be expected that western Democrats could strike no kind of union with either the Americans or “ultras” of the South, he concluded. Orlando Ficklin, a powerful Illinois Democrat, felt likewise. The time had come to assert the “manhood” of the party, he said.²⁵

Even in defeat, there was no question that McClermand had gained considerable prestige among the leaders of both parties. The initial aim had been to unite the Democratic Party around Douglas, yet much favor redounded to McClermand from the effort. Gustave Koerner, an important Republican from Belleville, Illinois, wrote Lyman Trumbull that the Democrats as a party were now bankrupt of “principle or talent, saving McClermand.”²⁶ Even Thaddeus Stevens, ultra among Republican ultras, felt that McClern-

22. *Chicago Times*, Feb. 5, 1860; *Washington Star*, Nov. 29, 1860; *New York Herald*, Dec. 4, 1860; Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy*,

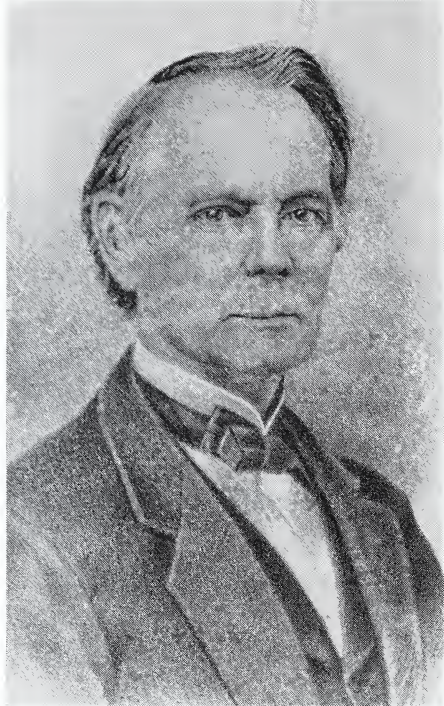
274. McClermand did receive some American Party support.

23. *Ill. State Register*, Feb. 29, 1860.

24. Lanphier to McClermand, Feb. 2, 1860, McClermand Coll.

25. Orlando Ficklin to McClermand, March 19, 1860, *ibid.*

26. Gustave Koerner to Lyman Trumbull, Dec. 23, 1859, Trumbull Papers, photostats in Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois.



*Charles H. Lanphier, editor of
the Illinois State Register,
Springfield*

and was a man to be respected. As he expressed it later, "What he desires, he is not afraid to vote for."²⁷

After McClelland's failure to gain the votes needed to win the speakership, the majority of Democrats moved quickly to the support of William H. Smith, a North Carolina representative of the American Party. Most Douglasites supported Smith simply because he seemed to represent the best solution to the dilemma of the empty speakership chair. Though McClelland and John A. Logan of Illinois led the fight for Smith on the floor, much opposition to the new candidate came from western representatives. There were even laggards within the Illinois delegation who were unwilling to accept Smith, particularly one Isaac Morris from Quincy. Even so, it seemed impossible for any candidate to miss victory as narrowly as did Smith.²⁸ When he lost

27. Quoted in Alphonse Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens* (New York, 1939), 138.

28. *New York Herald*, Jan. 29, 1860.

by only one vote, McClelland was stunned by the "recreancy" of his colleagues. "I was willing to vote for Mr. Smith," he wrote Lanhier, "understanding that he was . . . an old-line-Whig of the National school of Clay and Webster. . . . Whigs of that school had helped us in 1858," he concluded, "and I was not unwilling to reciprocate."²⁹

After Smith's failure to carry the House, both parties lay almost exhausted; the Democrats were divided as well. The Republicans were the first to pull themselves off the floor, throwing their support to another old-line Whig from New Jersey, William Pennington. On February 1, on the forty-fourth ballot, Pennington became the Speaker of the House for the Thirty-sixth Congress.³⁰

Although the Republicans had successfully elected their candidate for the speakership, McClelland and his fellow Democrats were content in the assumption that they had saved the Democratic Party for Douglas. It had been difficult for a man of McClelland's natural irascibility to contain himself for the sake of compromise, and sometimes it became too much for him. "You have no conception of the d---d villany and wicked and dastardly persecutions to which we are subjected by ultraists," he wrote Lanhier.³¹ These were private exasperations, however, and he was soothed by the contemplation of growing Douglas strength. "The tone of Southern sentiment is greatly changed," he wrote Lanhier. "I consider his nomination certain," he added concerning Douglas.³² Lanhier caught McClelland's enthusiasm. "Are we getting ahead!" he proclaimed.³³

29. McClelland to Lanhier, Jan. 28, 1860, Lanhier Papers.

30. Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, II: 124.

31. McClelland to Lanhier, Feb. 11, 1860, Lanhier Papers.

32. McClelland to Lanhier, Jan. 19, 1860, *ibid.*

33. Lanhier to McClelland, Feb. 24, 1860, McClelland Coll.

The realities of Douglas' position in the Democratic Party were to appear slowly to both McClernand and Lanphier. The "moderation" for which McClernand had fought was soon to be replaced by the growing bitterness of both extremes. Although the Illinoisan was often slow to perceive inevitabilities in any given situation, as early as January, 1860, he seems to have sensed the hazards facing the Douglas forces. There were two sides, he knew — the "disunionist South and the republican north" — and there was no direction in which the moderates could go.³⁴ By March he knew without doubt the extent of the fight in which the Douglas forces would be engaged at Charleston — it would be a "hand to hand one."³⁵ Even so, the grand disillusionment did not come until the convention actually met. The most revealing description of this turn of events was written by Murat Halstead, a reporter at the Democratic National Convention. The weather was hot, and the southern delegates vindictive, Halstead noted. More significant as a foreboding of the defeat of Douglas, however, was the glimpse that Halstead had of McClernand and John A. Logan "seated mournfully" outside the convention hall. "They were pensive and silent," he wrote. "There was Logan with his dark, narrow face, and black hair and eyes, gazing upon one of the pillars, his hat tilted far back. . . . There was Col. McClernand, with peaked face, running to a hooked nose, sadly playing with his watch-guard." The great attempt to win the South for Douglas had failed.³⁶

34. McClernand to Lanphier, Feb. 11, 1860, Lanphier Papers.

35. McClernand to Lanphier, March 28, 1860, *ibid.*

36. Murat Halstead, *A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Presidential Campaign* (Columbus, 1860), 9.

Alfred Whital Stern

1881 — 1960

With the death of Alfred Whital Stern on Tuesday, May 3, 1960, the Illinois State Historical Library lost one of the best friends it ever had. Not only had Mr. Stern served the Library for ten years as a trustee but for seventeen years he had been a continuous and substantial donor of funds for the enlargement of its collections.

Although he was known as the country's foremost private collector of books and manuscripts on Abraham Lincoln and had given a million-dollar collection of Lincolniana to the Library of Congress, Mr. Stern had a strong second interest in the Civil War and the Illinois State Historical Library. Other institutions, both in this country and overseas, also benefited from his thoughtful generosity.

In summarizing the world's indebtedness to him the *Chicago Daily News* said in an editorial on May 5:

Alfred Whital Stern, who died Tuesday, was all too little known in the city he made his home. A shy and modest man, he made a comfortable fortune in business and spent a great part of it collecting books and manuscripts on Abraham Lincoln for posterity.

Both Northwestern University and the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield were enriched by the collections which he gave to them. Many other institutions around the world have reason to be grateful for his zeal as a collector and his munificence as a donor.

But his greatest monument will remain the million-dollar collection of Lincolniana he presented to the Library of Congress over a period of years beginning in 1950. The extent of these treasures is only now being fully disclosed as Lincoln scholars and bibliophiles explore the catalog of that collection, published last month.

Alfred W. Stern was born on June 10, 1881, in New York City, and for the first forty-five years of his life he followed the usual pursuits of school, business, marriage and rearing a family. In



Alfred Whital Stern

1926 he retired from his position as an official of B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Inc., men's clothing manufacturer, to take up the work of collecting Lincolniana and other historical material and placing it where it would do the most good for the public.

He had become interested in Lincoln's writings three years earlier while on a vacation with his wife and three children at Atlantic City. They had planned to take along textbooks for the children's reading lessons but at the last moment these were forgotten. Mr. Stern went to a bookstore in search of a substitute and came away with a copy of the Gilbert A. Tracy compilation, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (1917), which he said "furnished worth while subject matter, coupled with not too difficult reading due to short simple words and sentences [that were] not too involved."

This, he explained later, "was the start of my interest in Lincoln. The study has been a fascinating field for me. From it I have learned much and benefited immensely. It has been the source of profit in many ways. His philosophy — his way of life — if followed closely cannot help but bring social and material success."

Although he probably began his famous collections at about this time, it was not until 1943 that Mr. Stern presented his Civil War Collection to the Illinois State Historical Library. Then the collection consisted of approximately 2,000 books, pamphlets, broadsides, newspapers and other printed material. Along with the collection Mr. Stern agreed to provide an annual fund with which to purchase additional books as they were published and older material that had not been available previously. By the time the collection was formally opened to the public, on May 23, 1948, it had been increased to 2,500 items, and at his death it had grown to more than 5,000.

In recognition of the importance of this collection to the Library and to the state the Sixty-ninth General Assembly made an appropriation to provide for the construction of a special room to house it. This room was installed in 1957 at the north end of the foyer of the Historical Library. The collection is now housed in thirty-two glass enclosed cases around the walls of this room and

in the outside foyer wall. The room itself is about thirty by twelve feet in size and contains approximately 550 feet of shelf space — even now this is not enough to accommodate the entire collection. When the room was finished Mr. Stern agreed to supply funds for furnishing it. These furnishings consist of drapes for the one large window, wall-to-wall carpeting, two exhibit cases, a conference table and eight conference chairs.

Mr. Stern was appointed a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library in January, 1946, by Governor Dwight H. Green. During most of the years of his trusteeship the other two members of the board were the late Benjamin P. Thomas and Dr. Clarence P. McClelland. For this period the Historical Library had the benefit of Mr. Stern's experience as a businessman and as a collector. He was always seriously concerned with its affairs and gave it more of his time than could reasonably have been asked.

The great public interest in the Civil War that the approaching centennial has now generated was lacking at the time Mr. Stern began his trusteeship. He regretted this lack and as a beginning at remedying it sponsored a contest which offered a first prize of \$100 and a second prize of \$50 for the best articles on some aspect of Illinois' part in the war. The winner was Hubert G. Schmidt, then assistant professor of history at the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University. His article, "Jediah F. Alexander, Civil War Editor," was published in the June, 1947, issue of this *Journal*. Second place went to John Hope Franklin, then professor of history at Howard University, for "James T. Ayers, Civil War Recruiter," which appeared in the September, 1947, issue. Although the winning articles in this contest were satisfactory, the number of entries was disappointing, even for a pioneering effort.

In February, 1956, when he had completed ten years of service as a trustee of the Historical Library, Mr. Stern resigned from the board. He continued his interest, however, in the Stern Room, and supervised its furnishing and the purchase of more books and papers, so that now the Alfred Whital Stern Civil War Collection is a permanent and useful memorial.

Lincolniana Notes

Commission Issues Lincoln Guide for Teachers

A guide for teachers of subjects related to the life and times of Abraham Lincoln was recently published by the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. The twenty-four-page booklet, with an attractive blue and white cover, is six by nine inches in size, and the material is presented in such a way that it can be used by teachers from the lower grades through the high school level. The guide will be sent free of charge to teachers requesting it.

The booklet was compiled and written by Mrs. Phyllis Connolly, former editor of *Illinois History*, the teen-agers' magazine sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society. It contains listings of study topics and classroom activities, a descriptive Lincoln bibliography, and sections on poetry, plays, sound films, film strips, slides and recordings. The bibliography lists only books currently in print and is divided by age groups; information about the plays includes the number of actors required for each and instructions for obtaining permission to produce them. The listing of twenty sound films has a brief synopsis of each, together with a description, showing its running time, where and for how much it may be rented and whether it is in color or not. Similar pertinent information is also supplied for filmstrips, slides and recordings.

Directions, along with a map, are given for field trips to fifteen Lincoln shrines in Illinois. A map and guide to eleven Lincoln sites in Springfield are also provided.

The fifty-one-member Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission was appointed by Governor William G. Stratton on June 25, 1958, to guide the state's observances in 1959 of the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of Lincoln's birth. Newton C. Farr of Chicago, chairman of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, was named chairman of the commission. The group's outstanding function was the sponsorship of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Banquet, which was held in Springfield on February 12, 1959, with Willy Brandt, governing mayor of West Berlin, Germany, as

the principal speaker and representatives of twenty foreign countries as guests (see Summer, 1959, issue of this *Journal*, page 291).

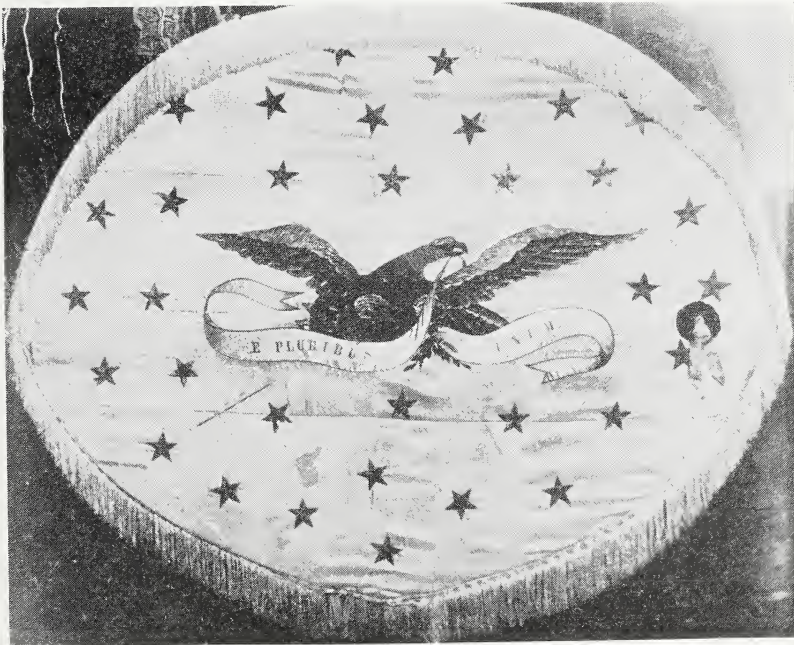
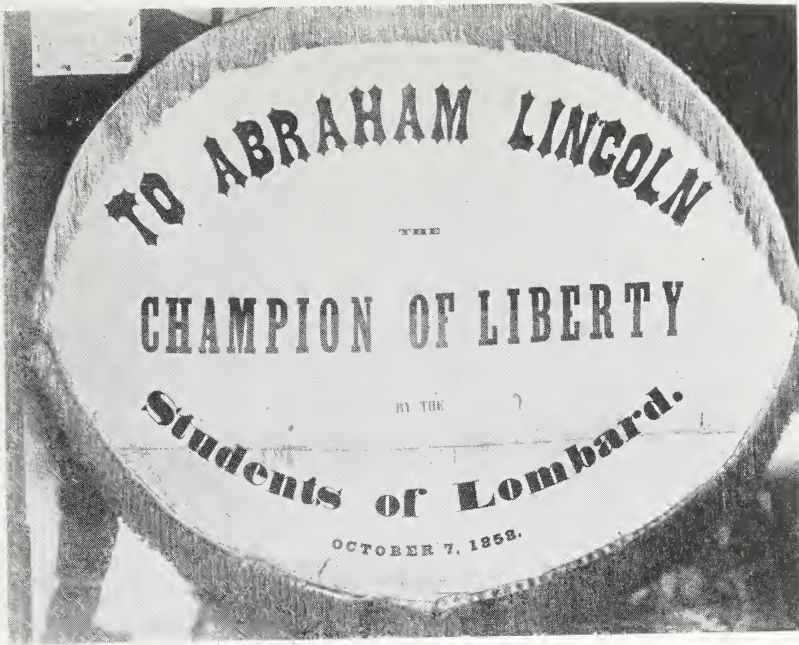
Publication of the Lincoln teacher's guide will probably be the commission's last official action. The commission received no state appropriation, and funds for publishing the booklet were from private contributions and the banquet receipt surplus.

Teachers, school administrators and others in charge of youth groups may obtain copies of the Lincoln "Guide for Teachers" without charge by writing to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield.

Lombard-Lincoln Banner at Knox College

On October 7, 1858, students of Lombard University, Galesburg, presented Abraham Lincoln an elaborate silk-fringed satin banner they had carried at the head of the procession which accompanied him from the home of Mayor Henry Sanderson to the campus of Knox College, where the fifth of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was held. Lincoln took the banner back to Springfield with him and kept it until May, 1860, when he presented it to Mark W. Delahay of Leavenworth, Kansas. Delahay's widow in turn gave it to the Kansas State Historical Society, and for years it was on display in that organization's museum in Topeka. But today the colorful banner is on exhibit in the Knox College library, back in Galesburg on a long-term loan.

The oval-shaped banner is three by four feet in size and was handmade by the Lombard students. The satin is supported by a wooden frame and is white on one side and blue on the other. Painted in red letters on the white side are the words, "TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN/ THE/ CHAMPION OF LIBERTY/ BY THE/ STUDENTS OF LOMBARD./ OCTOBER 7, 1858." Embroidered on the blue side, in the center of a field of thirty-two gold stars (representing the states then in the Union) is a bald eagle holding a ribbon bearing the motto "*E Pluribus Unum.*" There is also a thirty-third star which is overlaid with gray to represent Kansas and the difficulty she faced in joining the Union.



Both sides of the Lombard Lincoln banner

The two Lombard students chosen to carry the banner at the head of the procession that day were Mary Pike of Galesburg and Eliza Jane Carr of Rock Island. Miss Pike made the formal presentation to Lincoln. (Miss Carr was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Carr, Rock Island County pioneers, and later became Mrs. Eliza Jane Carr Lukens. One of her daughters, Lura Lukens, still makes her home in Rock Island.)

Lincoln received another banner that day, and one was also presented to Douglas. Lincoln's was described in a current newspaper report as "the most beautiful banner of the day" — it was a large embroidered American shield on one side of which was the inscription, "Presented to the Hon. A. Lincoln by the Republican Ladies of Galesburg; Oct. 7, 1858." On the other side was the Declaration of Independence inscribed upon a scroll. Douglas' banner was a large silk circle on which was embroidered a wreath around the words, "Presented to Stephen A. Douglas by the students of Lombard University." Neither of these banners is known to exist today. And Lombard University (later Lombard College) closed its doors in 1930 — its records and alumni association were transferred to Knox.

Mark W. Delahay was a Kansas pioneer who had known Lincoln earlier in Illinois. He attended the Chicago convention and, after Lincoln was nominated, caught the first train for Springfield to give the nominee an eyewitness report of the events. Lincoln, at this time, gave Delahay the Lombard banner to take to Kansas for use in the fall campaign. That it was an effective symbol is shown by the report in the *Leavenworth Daily Times* of June 1, 1860, which exclaims: "As young and old gaze upon [the banner] they will feel the enthusiasm which lit up the youth of the Lombard School, Illinois, and gird on their armor for the great battle of November."

The return of the banner to Knox College was initiated by O. C. Holcomb of Sterling, Kansas, a former resident of Galesburg. The formal presentation was made at a birthday dinner on February 15 celebrating the one hundred twenty-third anniversary of the college. Mrs. Althea McConnel Gittings of Cameron, a grandniece of Mary

Pike, unveiled the banner, which was accepted by State Senator Richard R. Larson on behalf of the school. In his acceptance speech, Senator Larson pointed out that the banner is the only known trophy of the debate in existence. The presentation was part of the celebration planned for the college by the city of Galesburg.

Son of Julia Taft, Lincolns' Neighbor, Dies

Howard H. Bayne, 88, an Ottawa attorney for sixty-four years and dean of the La Salle County bar, died on April 11. He was a son of Julia Taft Bayne, whose book *Tad Lincoln's Father* (Boston, 1931) contains her reminiscences as a neighbor of the Lincolns' in wartime Washington. Julia Taft was sixteen years old on the day Lincoln was inaugurated in 1861 — her father, Horatio N. Taft, was chief examiner in the patent office. Julia's two brothers, Halsey Cook ("Holly") and Horatio N. Taft, Jr. ("Bud"), were eight and twelve years old, respectively, and were the playmates of Tad and Willie Lincoln. Her principal role was that of disapproving spectator at the boys' games, but she also became a friend of Mrs. Lincoln and was called "little Julie" by the President. This association was ended early in 1862, for soon after Willie Lincoln's death on February 20, the Taft children were sent north to school.

Correction: It Was Not the "Only Evidence"

In his article "The 'Grocery Keeper' [Lincoln] and His Customer [Douglas]" in the Winter, 1959, issue of this *Journal* (page 550) Dr. Charles H. Coleman quotes Lincoln's remark, made in the Ottawa debate, about his having worked "the latter part of one winter in a small still house, up at the head of a hollow." The author then comments, "This statement is the only evidence that we have that he was ever so employed."

Dr. Coleman writes now that William H. Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, has reminded him of a bit of additional evidence. It is a statement made by Henry Brouner and quoted on page 80 of

J. T. Hobson, *Footprints of Abraham Lincoln* (Dayton, Ohio, 1909), to the effect that during the winter of 1829-1830 John Dutton employed Lincoln's stepbrother, John Johnston, to operate a distillery in Dubois County, Indiana. Brooner also said that Lincoln left "an article of agreement" between Dutton and Johnston with him — this was later lost in a fire that destroyed the Brooner home.

Dr. Coleman says that "while not definitely stating that Lincoln worked with Johnston, it is a fair inference, taking into account his later remark, that Lincoln did work, if only briefly, on Johnston's distillery venture."

New Bathsheba Lincoln Grave Marker Dedicated

Governor William G. Stratton, on behalf of the people of Illinois, dedicated a new marker at the grave of Bathsheba Lincoln, in the Mill Creek Cemetery, located on the Fort Knox Military Reservation in Kentucky, in ceremonies on the afternoon of May 18. The memorial was received by Governor Bert T. Combs of Kentucky.

Bathsheba Lincoln (see Charles H. Coleman, "Lincoln's Lincoln Grandmother," *Journal*, Spring, 1959, pp. 59-90) was the grandmother of the Sixteenth President and the wife of the Abraham Lincoln for whom he was named. She died in 1836 and was buried in the cemetery of the Mill Creek Baptist Church. This old locust-shaded cemetery, which is about twelve miles north of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, eventually became a part of the 113,000-acre Fort Knox Reservation. The grave was originally marked with a rough field stone boulder on which the initials "B L" had been crudely carved. Weather and souvenir hunters had left very little of the old stone by last fall when negotiations were begun for the new one.

This new marker, made by the Bourgoin Monument Company, Elmwood, Illinois, is of Barre, Vermont, granite and is 8 inches thick by 26 inches wide and 36 inches high. It rests on a base of Quincy, Massachusetts, granite from the Lincoln Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield — a part of the shaft of the Tomb



At the dedication of the new Bathsheba Lincoln grave marker on May 18 were, left to right, Major General W. Paul Johnson, commandant of Fort Knox; Illinois Governor William G. Stratton; Kentucky Governor Bert T. Combs; and Dr. Louis A. Warren, director emeritus of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

that was broken off by lightning several years ago. The face of the marker bears this inscription: "Bathsheba or Bersheba Lincoln, whose grandson was the Sixteenth President of the United States, married Captain Abraham Lincoln in Virginia, accompanied him over the mountains to Kentucky, worked by his side to create a landed estate until he was killed by the Indians in May, 1786." On the back of the marker there is a bronze plaque on which the wording reads: "The inset stone in the base of this tombstone is a piece from the shaft of the Abraham Lincoln Tomb in Springfield, Ill. Presented to the Hardin County Historical Society for the people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky by the State of Illinois, William G. Stratton, Governor, May 18, 1960."

The historical organizations sponsoring the new Bathsheba Lincoln marker and the dedication ceremonies were the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, Kentucky Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, Kentucky Civil War Round Table, the Hardin County, Kentucky, Historical Society, Illinois Department of Conservation and Illinois State Historical Library.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The letters and diaries of Captain William Culbertson Robinson of the Thirty-fourth Illinois Infantry are the latest additions to the extensive Civil War collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. The papers, covering the years 1860 to 1871, were presented by a nephew, William A. Robinson of Sterling. The letters describe the Army of the Tennessee, prison life in the Confederacy, the Siege of Atlanta, and Sherman's March to the Sea. Robinson's diary details his experiences while a captive from October 13, 1863, to January 30, 1864. After being taken prisoner at Chattanooga, he was sent to Belle Island military prison and then to a hospital in Richmond, where he served as a clerk. There, in the last dated entry of his diary, he recorded the deaths of two Illinoisans, J. Williamson of Dixon and Milton Gintinger of Sterling.

Also on the Civil War theme are two other recent Library acquisitions. These are somewhat unusual in that they are not manuscripts, but merely scripts — one of a television production and the other a Broadway play. Mildred Freed Alberg, producer of the "Our American Heritage" TV series, has given the Historical Li-

brary the script of "Shadow of a Soldier," written by John Whedon. In presenting the script, Mrs. Alberg wrote, "I was delighted by your kind comments on our show on U.S. Grant. . . . it's just this sort of reaction that makes my job such a pleasant one."

The producers of "The Andersonville Trial" — William Darrid, Eleanore Saidenberg and Daniel Hollywood — have provided the Library a copy of that play. The drama is based on the trial of Captain Henry Wirz which took place in Washington, D.C., in 1865. Saul Levitt, the author, states in the foreword that the play "is set in the time and place circumstance of the historical trial; that the formal roles and names of its characters repeat those of the historical participants; and that some of the dialogue derives from the trial record. Apart from the foregoing factual aspect it expresses the author's own conception of the personalities and the occasion — and it is to be read as a 'play' and not as a 'documentary.'"

These two productions afford a unique opportunity of viewing and assessing the past as it has been interpreted by writers for different media.

BERNARD WAX

Book Reviews

A. LINCOLN: PRAIRIE LAWYER

By John J. Duff. (Rinehart & Co., Inc.: New York, 1960. Pp. viii, 433. \$7.50.)

Few if any books for general readers — and this one is designed even more for general readers than it is for members of the legal profession as such — have identified Lincoln with as many Illinois communities as does John J. Duff's excellent, hole-filling account of the Civil War President-to-be in his formative years as prairie lawyer.

To start with, it places Lincoln in the county seat towns of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, as traveled by the itinerant counsel in 1850 by horseback or rig: from Springfield via Pekin and Tremont, Metamora, Bloomington, Mt. Pulaski, Clinton, Monticello and Urbana on to Danville and then back to Springfield by way of Paris, Shelbyville, Sullivan, Decatur and Taylorville.

These are communities in which Lincoln appeared most regularly. The Matson slave case, in which he served as counsel for a slaveholder, took Lincoln to Charleston. The case of *Selby vs. Dunlap* led him west to Jacksonville. A suit involving title to a tract of land adjoining Cairo brought the partnership of Lincoln and Herndon a handsome fee of \$1,500 from the southern tip of the state.

Lincoln's memorable defense which cleared William ("Duff") Armstrong, son of old friends of the New Salem days, was presented to a Beardstown jury. And when, at the age of twenty-eight, Lincoln raised his right hand on a March day in 1837, before the Clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court, and swore to "in all things faithfully execute the duties of Attorney and Counselor at Law," the place was Vandalia, second capital of Illinois.

The prairie lawyer was no stranger in the burgeoning city on Lake Michigan. It was in Chicago that Lincoln opposed Orville H. Browning in a federal district court case. It was also in Chicago that the tall, gaunt attorney from Springfield tried the *Effie Afton* case, which lawyer-author Duff calls the high point of Lincoln's career as a member of the Illinois bar.

This book is, so the reader is told, the first on Lincoln as a lawyer in more than twenty years. Certainly it is the first book on Lincoln in the practice of law to use the Herndon-Weik Papers (opened in 1942) and the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection (opened in 1947). The wonder

is that we should have had to wait for it until the centennial year of Lincoln's election to the presidency.

For here is a detailed account of how Lincoln made his living through most of his adult life, and with it a delineation of the qualities and characteristics that enabled him to grow in capacity and stature when the responsibilities of the White House surrounded him. From the testings on the central Illinois circuit came, in large part at least, his wartime precision in utterance, his knowledge and wise use of men, his respect for law and order, his restraint in the application of authority and his firm attachment to the Constitution with its compact of union between the states.

Painstakingly Mr. Duff weighs the many conflicting appraisals and estimates of Lincoln as a lawyer. The essence of his findings is that Lincoln was a topnotch preparer and pleader of cases and that his primary purpose, after he took a case, was to win it. Whenever he thought it would serve his purpose in defending an accused, and this was fairly frequently, Lincoln would ask for a change of venue. He often sought to delay going to trial until the heat of public opinion had cooled down. He was not at all above resort to technicalities. So diligently did he apply himself to study of the Illinois statutes that he was many times called into a

case by original counsel to be associated with the case in further litigation or on appeal. He is known to have handled before the Illinois Supreme Court close to 250 cases, about half of which he carried up himself. He was invited into the others by the lawyers of the original trials.

Lincoln's outstanding talents in the courtroom were in cross-examination of witnesses against his client and in summing up the case before the jury. Both these skills are underscored by the author in his retelling and appraisal of the famous "Almanac Trial," in which young Armstrong was charged with murder.

Mr. Duff says at the outset of his presentation of this celebrated case that it has been so much noticed as to obscure more important though less picturesque litigation with which Lincoln was associated. A consequence, as he notes, has been that many of Lincoln's other achievements in the practice of law have been crowded from their proper places in his career at the bar.

Mr. Duff does not at all discount the significance of the Armstrong trial. He says the defense of Jack and Hannah Armstrong's son called out Lincoln's agility and resourcefulness as a trial advocate and it also showed him as a skilled craftsman in the art of cross-examination. Quoting witnesses, the author recreates the scene when the unruffled country

lawyer, hooking his fingers under his gallus straps that held up shapeless trousers, took over the star prosecution witness, Charles Allen. For it was Allen who claimed to have seen, in the light of a bright moon high overhead, Armstrong strike the deceased, James Metzker, with a slung shot. His positive testimony led to the conviction of James Norris, indicted jointly with Armstrong, in an earlier trial.

Lincoln's style was to press, on cross-examination, the most searching questions but with "seeming casualness." Here is how Mr. Duff reports it:

[Lincoln adroitly led Allen] to commit himself irretrievably to the statement, repeated "a dozen or more times," that he could not be mistaken about what he had seen, because the moon was shining brightly at the time. Suddenly, dramatically, Lincoln fell upon the witness, riddling his testimony by confronting him with an almanac for 1857 which showed that at the hour of the alleged fracas the moon was not in the position stated by Allen, but, rather, was low in the sky, within an hour of setting. One can see the witness twisting and wriggling through the ordeal, like a sailfish coming to gaff, while the laboriously constructed case for the prosecution crumbled. As several jurymen later stated . . . , "The almanac floored the witness."

As an experienced trial lawyer, Lincoln knew how to lay the foundation for Allen's ultimate annihilation. His most damning questions

were asked conversationally, but he was ruthless withal. With no hint of what he had up his sleeve, he led the unsuspecting Allen on with disarming courtesy, in a manner more seductive than antagonistic. It was a deft performance, a devastating display of the art of cross-examination.

A good lawyer himself, the author is careful to recount the other elements in Lincoln's defense which also weighed on the side of acquittal. One Nelson Watkins testified that the slung shot found near the scene of the crime was in fact his and that he himself had thrown it there after the supposed murder. (Lincoln said this testimony was as helpful to the defense as the refutation of the bright moon story.) Dr. Charles Parker testified that the deceased could have brought on his death by falling from his horse and striking his head on the ground as he made his way home after the altercation. (The trial judge said that this testimony, in answer to a hypothetical question put by Lincoln, was the most persuasive adduced on Armstrong's behalf.)

According to an eyewitness, quoted by the author, Lincoln was very careful in passing on prospective jurors. He had "some rather definite ideas" about appearance as an indicator of mental attitude. Thus it is related here that Lincoln did not want a blue-eyed blond man in the jury box because he regarded that type as too nervous and therefore too like-

ly to go along temperamentally with the prosecution in a case involving violence. He did not want a man with a high forehead, unless he knew that the man leaned on his side, because Lincoln figured that a man with a high forehead had made up his mind in advance. He preferred young men to older ones as a general thing and he looked on fat men as ideal jurors. So Mr. Duff reports.

Chapters are devoted in turn to the law partnerships: Stuart and Lincoln, Logan and Lincoln and finally Lincoln and Herndon. In addition to chapters on the major cases, there are others on Lincoln in Congress and before the United States Supreme Court, in federal court in Illinois, in the State Supreme Court and still others on Lincoln's pardon petitions, his law clerks and his relatively little-known service as a "judge" and a "prosecuting attorney." The appendices list the lawyers who were associated with Lincoln on the Eighth Judicial Circuit and present a roster of the judges of the Illinois Supreme Court before whom Lincoln prac-

ticed, 1840-1860. In addition to a note section of nearly thirty pages, there is a ten-page bibliography. Thirty-two pages of illustrations help tell the story in picture. Even this record does little more than suggest the long search of the indefatigable author for details.

In his acknowledgments, Mr. Duff gives credit to many workers in the Lincoln field in Illinois. Here is the order in which he lists them: Harry E. Pratt, Margaret A. Flint, James T. Hickey, Clyde C. Walton, Howard F. Rissler, S. Ambrose Wetherbee, James N. Adams, Marion D. Pratt, Benjamin P. Thomas, King V. Hostick, Ivan H. Light, Charles H. Coleman, Lavern M. Hamand, Alfred W. Stern, Marguerite J. Pease and C. C. Tisler. It may be unusual to include such a list in a report on a book, but in this case it is a personal index to the author's work and a proper recognition of an outstanding group of Lincoln students and researchers in the prairie lawyer's own state.

IRVING DILLIARD
Collinsville

THE PAPERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN, VOL. I, 1801-1817
Edited by Robert L. Meriwether. (University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society: Columbia, 1959. Pp. xlii, 469. \$10.)

Few persons have contributed as much to the development of American political life as the eminent South Carolinian, the "cast-

iron man," John C. Calhoun. The first half of the nineteenth century bore the unmistakable impress of Calhoun's long and significant

public career, and for years after his death his spirit continued to dominate the thinking of many Americans. As a member of Congress, Cabinet member, vice-president and senator, he made contributions of vast importance to national development; as a political theorist, he painstakingly examined the nature of government in an attempt to discover solutions to problems he feared might one day prove fatal to the Union itself. In any study of American politics and political theory, Calhoun demands first attention.

It was fitting, then, that the National Historical Publications Commission in 1951 should have considered the publication of Calhoun's papers to be of primary importance. The next year, 1952, partly as a result of the commission's encouragement, researchers began the task of locating, gathering and editing Calhoun manuscripts, utilizing as a nucleus the vast collection of Calhoun papers at Clemson College. Seven years later, the first volume in what promises to be a set indispensable to those who wish to know more of their country's rich political heritage was published.

The publication of the first volume of the Calhoun papers has not been without tragedy. The editor, Professor Robert L. Meriwether, of the University of South Carolina, died on August 24, 1958. The editing of the first volume had been completed, and the gal-

ley proofs had been checked. While succeeding volumes in the series will not have the benefit of his scrupulous editorial work, they will owe much to his initial energy in locating, acquiring and classifying Calhoun documents.

The goal of the series, estimated to run eventually to fifteen volumes, is to present, either in complete printed reproduction or in a calendar, "all the known extant words of Calhoun." The first volume encompasses Calhoun's important formative years, the years of his preparation for the law and of his service in the South Carolina legislature and the United States House of Representatives.

The volume opens with a letter written by the nineteen-year-old Calhoun in 1801 as he prepared for college and closes in 1817 with his acceptance of President Monroe's offer of the appointment as Secretary of War. Included are one hundred and fifty-nine documents. Seventy of these are letters written by Calhoun, eight are letters written to Calhoun, and the remaining eighty-one, by far the largest part of the volume, are legislative speeches, reports and other papers pertaining to his public career. Of the latter, only two deal with his service in the South Carolina legislature. An additional seventy-seven items are summarized briefly in the calendar at the end of the volume.

It is not clear what criteria were

employed to distinguish between those documents which were printed in their entirety and those which were merely described in the calendar. Many of the latter, it seems to this reviewer, might well have deserved complete reproduction.

The comprehensive character of this volume may be demonstrated by comparing it with the two earlier compilations of Calhoun documents: Richard K. Crallé's edition of Calhoun's works, published soon after the South Carolinian's death, and J. Franklin Jameson's collection of Calhoun's letters, published in 1900 in the annual report of the American Historical Association. Of the one hundred and fifty-nine documents presented here, only fifty-eight were reproduced in the two earlier works. Not only is the present edition more complete than the earlier efforts, but it is also more accurate. The editor gave close attention to the texts of his documents in his attempt to reproduce the words of Calhoun as accurately as possible. With the congressional speeches, especially, he noted the variations in wording in the existing versions and corrected the many editorial liberties taken by Crallé, which in some cases had altered the meaning of Calhoun's statements.

Professor Meriwether's editorial comments are marked for their clarity. Documentation has been kept at a minimum, justifi-

ably so in most cases. The identification of names and situations mentioned in the documents, however, is often quite scant; many persons who are identified only in the index could more properly have been identified with the documents themselves. Each of Calhoun's congressional speeches has been placed in its legislative context.

Through these documents we see Calhoun as a highly disciplined student of the law; a tender lover, wooing his future wife by writing to her mother; a bellicose "War Hawk," quick to resent British insults to the honor and integrity of the American flag; and as a devoted constitutionalist and outspoken nationalist, anxious to strengthen the foundation upon which the Union rested, angrily decrying all efforts to set one section against another.

The War of 1812, which brought Calhoun to the attention of the nation, provides the dominant theme of the volume. To Calhoun, the conflict was truly a second war for American independence. "It is the war of the Revolution revived," he declared. "We are again struggling for our liberty and independence." When the "independence" had been won, he played a leading role in strengthening the bonds of the Union; his speeches on behalf of internal improvements and the tariff, the "new and most powerful cement," breathe a spirit of

militant nationalism. In a statement hardly surpassed for its eloquence, Calhoun described the American mission:

We are charged by Providence not only with the happiness of this great and rising people, but in a considerable degree with that of the human race. We have a government of a new order, perfectly distinct from all which has ever preceded it. A government founded on the rights of man, resting not on authority, not on prejudice, not on superstition, but reason. If it succeed, as fondly hoped by its founders, it will be the commencement of a new era in human affairs. All civilized governments must in the course of time conform to its principles.

Thus did he set the tone for the exuberant decades that followed.

Throughout, Calhoun remained a devoted disciple of constitutional

law. "The Constitution," he declared in an oft-quoted phrase, "is my letter of instruction." Here *vox populi was vox Dei*. Calhoun's devotion, however, was not a blind adherence to the letter of the document. There was much pragmatism in Calhoun's thinking. "The instrument," he maintained, "was not intended as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on. It ought to be construed with plain, good sense." Critics of Calhoun (and latter-day political leaders) might well ponder his words during these early years. "True wisdom," he averred, "consists in properly adapting your conduct to circumstances." Inconsistency "consists in a change of conduct when there is no change of circumstances which justify it."

ROBERT W. JOHANSEN
University of Illinois

VERMONT GENERAL: THE UNUSUAL WAR EXPERIENCES OF EDWARD HASTINGS RIPLEY, 1862-1865

Edited by Otto Eisenschiml. (Devin-Adair Company: New York, 1960. Pp. 340. \$6.00.)

Edward Hastings Ripley of Center Rutland, Vermont, was not one of the best-known Union generals of the Civil War, but he did have his claim to fame. That came on April 3, 1865, when he led the first infantry brigade into Richmond, the fallen capital of the Confederacy — something that all Union generals had been trying for four years to do. Ripley

was military commander of the city for the next two weeks. His immediate tasks were to put out the fires the fleeing Confederates had started and to restore law and order — these things he accomplished within twenty-four hours. Then he had to get the churches, theaters and newspapers back in operation. President Lincoln visited Richmond during this time,

and Ripley received a warning from a former Confederate secret service operative that the President's life was in danger. When told this, Lincoln said that he felt he should ignore the warning because he did not "believe that any human being lives who would do me any harm."

When the war ended, Brevet Brigadier General Ripley was twenty-five years old and had seen three years of service. His rise in rank may seem spectacular, but his service record was anything but that. He spent the first year of the war as a student at Union College and enlisted in the army in the summer of 1862. His military career began with his election as captain of the company he had recruited — Company B, Ninth Vermont Volunteers. His regiment was almost immediately sent into the Shenandoah Valley campaign, only to be captured by Stonewall Jackson at Harpers Ferry in September. Under the parole arrangements in effect between the opposing governments, the Ninth Vermont was sent to Camp Douglas, near Chicago, where it was confined for the winter.

After his release in late March, 1863, Ripley spent the remainder of the war near Richmond or a little farther south in North Carolina. He considered his service there frustrating, but he did get into some hot fighting in September and October, 1864, and then,

of course, in the final campaign against Richmond.

This book is made up of the correspondence of General Ripley with the various members of his family — his parents, two brothers, and three sisters and a half sister — plus an official letter now and then. The Ripleys were a well-established, prosperous New England family — marble quarries and banking. The largest percentage of the letters are to and from the General's older brother, William, who had been seriously wounded at Malvern Hill (July, 1862) and never recovered sufficiently to return to the army — he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

The younger brother, Charley, was the problem child of the family — a corporal who stayed out of the army after his original enlistment expired in 1863. Edward's letters to him usually took the form of admonitions.

Second in number are the letters to and from his mother. Hers told him of her work for the Sanitary Commission, of her flower garden and about other members of the family. His father wrote of the war, politics and business, but letters from the sisters were very infrequent.

Edward Ripley's letters are not important for their battle stories because their author saw relatively little action — what he did see he described vividly; he wrote lucidly and entertainingly. The

correspondence in this volume is valuable, however, for the side-lights thrown on the war — the home front, politics and the army, recruiting, business, family affairs and even hobbies. Edward was fond of horses and as an officer was required to have one. But he kept several and was constantly negotiating with his father or William about others. Among the business ventures was William's purchase of a turpentine distilling process, in which he sold Edward a partnership. This enterprise

failed to pan out — but it looked good for a while.

As editor of the book, Otto Eisenschiml has supplied a minimum of explanatory material, but all that was necessary. Sometimes this required the identification of a little-known name or site — which only a student of the Civil War could do. The book is also embellished by photographs of the Ripley family and of officers of the Ninth Vermont Volunteers; and by maps, a chronology of the war and an index.

H. F. R.

STONEWALL JACKSON

By Lenoir Chambers. (William Morrow & Co.: New York, 1959.
2 vols. Pp. 1133. \$20.)

In Cadet Thomas J. Jackson's notebook was the motto, "You may be whatever you resolve to be." On furlough after two years of desperate struggle for survival at West Point he was asked by his cousin about returning. Jackson replied, "Not for Lewis County [Virginia] would I fail to go back. I am going to make a man of myself if I live. What I will to do I can do."

In the next seventeen years this Presbyterian deacon and Sunday School teacher of Negro children, this unexceptional instructor at Virginia Military Institute, so disciplined himself that when war came, Major Jackson, perhaps more than any other man, was ready. How this devout Christian

became the scourge of battle is ably told in this account of the paradoxical individual whose brilliant exploits are still studied by military students.

As the reader becomes acquainted with Stonewall Jackson, he cannot help but note the striking similarities between Jackson and Ulysses S. Grant. Both were professional soldiers doing a professional job. Both were cited for bravery in the Mexican War, and at the opening of the Civil War each found himself in a prosaic and undistinguished occupation. Once in command of troops in the war, each learned from his experiences and grew in generalship. When confronted by new problems, they used imagination

and innovation in solving them, and when the going was tough, they resolutely slugged it out. Their soldiers grumbled and complained, understandably so, when called upon for their last ounce of endurance, but they knew in their hearts that, in the end, victory would be theirs. There would be no retreat to lick their wounds.

One cannot help but wonder what the result would have been had Grant and Jackson been pitted against each other — or what different course the war would have taken had the orphan Tom Jackson gone to live with his mother's people along the Ohio River as did his sister, to whom he was always devoted, and had he, like her, made the Union his paramount loyalty.

The first thirty-seven years of Jackson's life — his struggles with poverty, with personal tragedy; his dogged determination to succeed at West Point in spite of the handicap of an inadequate early education; and his single-minded

and unquestioning devotion to duty — are so well portrayed in Chambers' first volume that one can easily see how they inevitably lead to the theme of the second volume: Jackson's last two brilliant years as Robert E. Lee's devoted and dependable "right arm."

The one thing which may militate against the deserved sale of this book to the general reader and the amateur historian is its price, for even lovers of good books, when not blessed with oil wells, look at twenty dollars a long time before succumbing to temptation. However, those who must choose between owning a few good books or many of lesser merit will get full value in these two volumes as well as the satisfaction of having the best there is on the subject in scholarship, perspective and interpretation and in pleasurable and stimulating reading.

E. R. UNDERWOOD
Forest Park, Illinois

ABRAHAM LINCOLN GOES TO NEW YORK

By Andrew A. Freeman. (Coward-McCann, Inc.: New York, 1960. Pp. 160. \$3.95.)

One hundred years ago this past February, Abraham Lincoln went to New York to deliver his now famous speech at the Cooper Institute. This speech and his subsequent trip to New England, where he made nine speeches in

twelve days, probably had more to do with his receiving the nomination for the presidency than anything else. The opportunity was there; Lincoln seized it and rose to the occasion — convincing easterners of his ability.

In this, the centennial of that memorable event, Freeman's little volume is timely. It is also a very attractive book with well-chosen, excellent illustrations and end papers. The text deals with Lincoln's days in New York, and the appendix contains Lincoln's famous address and his enlightening letter to Charles C. Nott of the Young Men's Republican Union of New York about the changes in the text of the address which Nott and his associate, Cephas Brainerd, wanted to make in the official printed version.

But Mr. Freeman might have produced a better, or at least truer, picture of this New York visit had he been more careful in his use of sources. One example may suffice. Freeman has Lincoln visiting the Five Points Mission on February 26, the Sunday after his arrival in New York, and says that Elihu B. Washburne took him there. It was, however,

Sunday, March 11, that Lincoln visited the mission, and it was Hiram Barney who took him there. Later Barney took Lincoln home to tea. This he could have found in Paul M. Angle's *Lincoln, 1854-1861* (Springfield, The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1933), page 324. An article by James N. Adams, "Lincoln and Hiram Barney," in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Volume 50 (Winter, 1957), pages 343-76, throws additional light on that Sunday's activities.

Freeman also tells, briefly, the stories of Lincoln's two subsequent returns to New York: February 19-21, 1861, as President-elect, and April 24-25, 1865, when his body lay in state in City Hall. Freeman is a "journalist, foreign correspondent, teacher and publicist." His book has an index and a section on "Sources and Notes," but no footnotes as such.

S. AMBROSE WETHERBEE

PICKETT'S CHARGE: A MICROHISTORY OF THE FINAL ATTACK AT GETTYSBURG, JULY 3, 1863

By George R. Stewart. (Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1959. Pp. 354. \$5.00.)

This reviewer, who is not a battlefield expert in the remotest sense of the word, has been captivated and fascinated by George Stewart's work. Among the hundreds of accounts of Gettysburg, this is the first one that simplifies to an understandable narrative the complex movements and situations of

that often-told story of General Pickett's maneuvers. What the author has attempted (and accomplished) has been to take fifteen hours of July 3, 1863, and to carry the thread of planning by both sides, the deploying of artillery and troops, the advances and retreats, to relate the inevi-

table little vignettes that bring any story to life and to build up the tensions, fears, anxieties, "striking-while-the-iron-is-hot" situations and to put the reader right there beside the contestants. You see a vivid picture before you. You look back at the exceedingly helpful battlefield position maps. You're familiar with what all the leaders are doing, and perhaps you're even able to anticipate what they're going to do! It seems to this reviewer that if an author can put his reader in this position, he has done a creditable job.

Stewart has pinpointed these fifteen hours and confines himself to an accurate account of them. He sets the scene, and his players move about the stage. They do their parts, and the story ends. It is as simple as that. Yet in the telling he weaves a fascinating story, and his puppets perform in such a way that the audience always knows what's going on. It takes a pretty good man to do that!

The story is in eleven parts. It starts with a brief history of the leaders on both sides. The regiments line up; the cannon are placed. There is a lull, and then the cannonade begins. It stops and the Confederates advance, a superb (almost) tactical move. They approach the Union lines near the Angle. All hell breaks loose, and the Union line is almost breached. Some Confederate soldiers cross the famous stone wall,

and, after an indeterminate confusion, suddenly the breakthrough is halted. With the Union repulse, the Confederacy is doomed, and her soldiers retreat. And there is an afterwards and a little bit of conjectural talk about what might have happened. Various controversies of the past are discussed, and some of them are cleared up.

Throughout the story the general and the private, the lieutenant and the corporal, are in the foreground. For the first time the often-asked question of where Pickett was at the time of the charge is answered. We had never learned before whether he was there or not. He was, but — you'll have to read this for yourself.

After reading this book, the reviewer thinks Pickett got too much credit. It wasn't all his charge. Pettigrew deserves co-ownership of title in that respect. Trimble had a big part, too.

Lee and Longstreet have both been criticized for the conduct of this battle, but I think Stewart has been fair in his presentation of these leaders. As a matter of fact I consider this book as probably the fairest presentation I have ever read — it is without prejudice by the author.

This reviewer made a lot of notes on specific things, such as 5,700 Union men holding back 10,500 Southerners, whether actual casualties were as bad as re-

ported, and ideas on leadership. However, these facts and figures will not impede your reading.

Read the book. It will be well worth your while.

JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR.
Chicago

STRINGFELLOW OF THE FOURTH

By R. Shepard Brown. (Crown Publishers, Inc.: New York, 1960.
Pp. 307. \$4.00.)

Frank Stringfellow was one of the great intelligence agents of the Confederacy. He was a member of a good family in modest circumstances and lived in Culpeper County, Virginia. Twenty-one years old at the outbreak of the war, Stringfellow tried to enlist in four different cavalry units but was turned down because he was small and slight of build. His ingenuity showed early, however, and his fifth attempt succeeded when he crept up and captured a picket of a Confederate company encamped in a woods near Culpeper Court House. He had the picket call in others nearby and marched them to their captain's tent. The officer was so impressed that, after questioning the young man, he had him inducted next day in Company E, Fourth Virginia Cavalry.

The troop moved to Manassas, where Beauregard was assembling forces for battle. Because Stringfellow was familiar with Alexandria (his sweetheart, Emma Green, lived there) and because of the ingenuity and daring he had displayed in his method of joining up, he was selected to go

to that town to learn what the Federals intended to do. He succeeded in learning the probable time of the Federal advance.

In the first Battle of Bull Run, Frank came under the eye of Jeb Stuart, who was told of his trip to Alexandria and of his manner of enlisting. Stuart transferred him to his own immediate command and assigned him to scout and spy duties.

Frank's first big assignment was an under-cover trip back to Alexandria as a dentist's assistant to Dr. Richard M. Sykes, a Southern sympathizer. While he was working for the dentist, Frank relayed information by methods provided in advance — but with trepidation, because he was suspected by both the dentist and his wife. To add to his difficulties, one day his girl, Emma Green, brought in her grandfather for dental work and called Frank by name in the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Sykes. Frank calmly stated that she was mistaken, and the girl caught on and replied that she had mistaken him for someone else.

When the dentist finally went to report his assistant to Union

authorities, Frank was warned by Mrs. Sykes just in time to make his escape. He rejoined his company and took part in several major campaigns before making another trip to Alexandria on secret service duty.

The book is replete with accounts of his exploits such as his undiscovered visit to his mother, who had been wounded in the fighting around her home and had been taken into the care of Union forces; the chase of an enemy patrol into their own camp; assignment to Mosby to capture a Union major who was on the wanted list; his attendance (dressed as a young woman) at a Union officers' dance, where he got a hint that Grant was being transferred east; his discovery of the fact that Grant would move against Lee's right, where the Battle of the Wilderness resulted. Frank was at Yellow Tavern when Stuart was fatally injured. Thereafter he reported directly to Lee.

His last endeavor in the gathering disaster of the final days was another trip to Washington. Here he was exposed by a suspicious woman detective, who asked him to drink a toast to President Lincoln. After hiding out for a time, he began a journey southward but was arrested and again managed to escape. With a price on his head as the war closed, Frank went to Canada. Upon returning about two years later, he studied for the ministry and was ordained a minister in the Episcopal church.

On the thirty-seventh anniversary of his enlistment in the Confederate Army, he joined the Fourth Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army in the Spanish-American War. How he was enabled to enlist is a story in itself. Death came to the old scout in 1913 at the age of seventy-three.

Brown's book is a good typical tale of the adventures of the scouts and spies of the Civil War.

MILES GRAY
Springfield

THE GOVERNOR AND HIS LADY

By Earl Conrad. (Putnam's: New York, 1960. Pp. 433. \$5.95.)

The first task to which a reviewer of this volume must set himself is to decide what manner of book it is. Some non-purists may call it history or biography. This reviewer must insist that it is a novel in the tradition of historical fiction. Even though the characters in the book are all histori-

cal figures and the incidents described are largely historical, the author introduces fictitious conversations and situations to illustrate these characters and incidents. Having thus arrived at the conclusion that the book is a novel, the reader may well consider it an excellent piece of work. If

it is considered biography or history, however, it can only be regarded as a very shabby effort.

The book is centered around the life and career of William Henry Seward, governor of New York, senator, and secretary of state in the Lincoln and Johnson administrations. Seward's public career was a long and illustrious one, lasting some forty years. The book describes the ambition, statesmanship and the failures of this lengthy public service.

In general the story is well done. There are, however, some minor irritations in it. This reviewer was a little bored by the never-ending recital of the clinical details of Mrs. Seward's hypochondria. Throughout the book Seward is referred to as "William Henry." This is perfectly in character when referring to him as a small boy, but to refer to the senator and secretary of state with such a juvenile name seems absurd, especially since none of his contemporaries seems to have so addressed him. The author betrays his journalistic background in his occasional use of a noun as a verb (e.g., on page 83: "Han-

nah Miller birthed [*sic*] two girls.").

As to the picture that the reader gets of Seward and his contemporaries, this reviewer wonders whether it may not be a little overdrawn at times. Seward the governor is portrayed as a kind of early day New Dealer, when actually the Whig Party which placed him in office time after time was the party of privilege and class. Another such example is the contrast made between Seward and Lincoln. There is no question that in 1861 Lincoln was looked upon with great doubt in many quarters and that Seward made somewhat the better impression, but to put across this point Conrad makes Lincoln look like a bucolic boob, reminiscent of the country squire in a Horatio Alger story. These questionable impressions are built up through the use of the imaginary conversations mentioned above.

It is the opinion of the reviewer that, in spite of the foregoing criticisms, many readers will find the book interesting.

DONALD F. TINGLEY
Eastern Illinois University

WILLETT AND THE MARCH OF TIME: THE HISTORY OF
A COMPANY AND A FAMILY

By Howard L. Willett. (Privately printed, Chicago, 1959. Pp. 39.)

A modern phenomenon, ranking possibly with a successful manned rocket to the moon, is a truly readable business history. But a

little volume privately issued in Chicago has scored a direct hit!

When Paul M. Angle persuaded Howard L. Willett, Chicago

civic and business leader, to publish the story of his life in the transportation industry, the result was this gem of a book — only thirty-nine pages long with twenty-six illustrations — which proves that a man can write excitingly about his business.

Willet's own business career has covered more than fifty years, but as a boy he either saw most of the history made in Chicago after the Civil War or heard about it from his father, A. T. Willett, founder of the company. Now the traditions are being carried on by his son, Howard L. Willett, Jr.

Willet's own reminiscences help us appreciate the progress we now take for granted. He tells of the depressions which afflicted the country at the turn of the century — the terrible casualties among businesses, with as many as half of them failing. Later, the great depression of the 1930's hit Willett hard but in the end made the company stronger than ever. Some measure of the man can be gleaned from his assessment of that disaster:

The early 30's had been a bubble-bursting era for top brass executives. They were purged relentlessly and in dozen lots. In the late 30's Chicago was breeding keen, tough-minded executives, who put in sixty hours a week at the plant instead of with their publicity agents. Praise the Lord! Our country needed them many times over for World War II!

One of the most fascinating episodes of the Willett story occurred

during this same period, when Chicago's feared and famed hoodlums tried to move in on the trucking industry:

One morning at 4 A.M., tough, rough Big Kulla, driving our bullet-proof Mack tractor and trailer, north on south State Street, was threatened by an open Packard car . . . six hoods . . . six guns! He refused to be curbed . . . Big Kulla slowed down . . . the Packard pulled up . . . Big Kulla turned hard left and smashed the Packard to smithereens between his Mack and the elevated structure.

Three hoods dead . . . three hoods in Henrotin Hospital for six months . . . quite a big deal! End of our troubles!

The book abounds with solid history of the trucking industry. The author attributes much of his company's success to accommodation to four "revolutions": (1) the use of ball-bearing wheels on horse-drawn wagons in 1909, (2) the switch to motor trucks beginning in World War I, (3) the adoption of light pneumatic tires in place of hard-rubber tires in 1930 and (4) the use of trailers instead of straight frame trucks beginning in the 1920's.

Adding considerably to the stature of this fine little book are contributions by two fellow Chicagoans: Charles Collins of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote the introduction and Paul M. Angle contributed the foreword.

ALEXANDER SUMMERS
Mattoon

News and Comment

1960 Spring Tour at Moline-Rock Island

History and hospitality were blended in two days of fun and food for the Illinois State Historical Society when its 1960 Spring Tour was held in Moline-Rock Island on May 7-8.

Host organizations were the Rock Island County Historical Society and Augustana College, and the visitors were also granted special privileges by the Moline police department, the administrators of the United States Arsenal and the cities' civic centers. The only place where complete cooperation was lacking was the weather department: the temperature was 72 degrees at 5 P.M. Friday, but several heavy showers and then a steady rain that night were followed by a 40-degree temperature Saturday morning. The rains held off until late that afternoon and then were so light that they did not interfere with the schedule of activities. But the temperature did not rise above 50 degrees all day, and by Sunday morning it was down to 36.

Early arrivals Friday were registered at the LeClaire Hotel, which served as headquarters for the meeting, by Bernard Wax, field representative for the Illinois State Historical Library, who as-

sisted the local arrangements committee.

Later that evening the Society officers and past presidents among these early arrivals were entertained at a reception in their Moline home by Past President of the State Society and Mrs. Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., co-chairmen of the local arrangements committee. Those who braved the drizzling rain and solved Moline's numbered street-avenue address system were rewarded by seeing a collection of Japanese prints, another of antiques and a variety of hand-wrought brass decorative pieces, as well as by entertaining conversation and refreshments.

Promptly at the scheduled 9:05 A.M. Saturday the caravan of five completely filled forty-passenger buses of the Rock Island-Moline City Lines left the LeClaire Hotel for a tour of the historic sites of the vicinity. The tour was under the direction of Colonel Carl A. Waldmann, retired commandant of the Rock Island Arsenal, and with military precision kept to its schedule all day. Each bus had a member of the Rock Island County Historical Society aboard to act as a guide, and each guide was equipped with a twelve-page

script prepared by Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Coddington, members of the local committee.

The route from the LeClaire Hotel followed what was originally the "Great Sauk Trail" with the first stop at Black Hawk's Watch Tower in Black Hawk State Park on the south edge of the city of Rock Island. The Watch Tower is a 150-foot bluff overlooking a gigantic gravel pit on Vandruff Island in the Rock River about three miles from its mouth. There the group visited the Hauberg Indian Museum, which houses the collections of John H. Hauberg, late president of the Illinois State Historical Society, who was "Mr. History" to the northwest area of the state. The collection includes stone tools and weapons, a wickiup equipped for habitation, furs, clothing, bead and hair ornaments, canoes, a bee tree and numerous paintings, plus treaties and other Indian papers.

When the tour resumed, it passed the intersection of Forty-eighth Avenue and Twelfth Street, near the bank of Rock River in Rock Island, where there are two historical markers — one commemorates the site of Saukenuk, "westernmost battle of the Revolution," and the other notes that Abraham Lincoln was sworn into federal service in the Black Hawk War at a camp "two miles south of here." En route the caravan also passed Chippiannock (mean-

ing "village of the dead") Cemetery, where several unusual grave-stones were pointed out — an anchor to mark the grave of a river-boat captain and a hammer and anvil for a blacksmith.

The next stop was the Hauberg Civic Center — former home of the John H. Hauberg family. This twenty-room mansion on a ten-acre plot at the top of the Twenty-third Street hill was in the process of being converted into units for the convenient use of a variety of civic groups; eight different meetings of twenty-five to one hundred persons each can be held simultaneously. The third floor houses the library, which contains a valuable collection of books and other material on the early history of Rock Island County. An unusual feature of the Center is the tulip motif that can be found throughout the house and grounds — in the woodwork, plaster, glass and stone work. While there, the group was served coffee and Danish pastry.

From the Hauberg Center the tour route led across Sylvan Slough to the island of Rock Island past the reconstructed block-house of Old Fort Armstrong to the gates of the Arsenal — where the Historical Society guides were replaced by members of the Arsenal public relations staff. The trip around the three-mile-long, 946-acre island stretched out to about fifteen miles before it was over. Preceding a stop at the

John M. Browning Museum the visitors saw those parts of the island that included the famous Arsenal clock tower, the site of the first bridge across the Mississippi, the home of Colonel George Davenport and a number of the Arsenal buildings — one of which covered an area of fifteen acres. Exhibits at the John M. Browning Memorial Museum, which was named for the inventor of many of the automatic weapons used by the United States armed forces since the Spanish-American War, included the small arms and ordnance matériel of many nations. Also on display were scale models of Fort Armstrong, the Davenport house and the Arsenal as it appeared in 1910.

After about an hour in the museum the group went next door to the post restaurant, where luncheon was served. Following luncheon Colonel Waldmann, who is the retired commandant of the Arsenal and the only native of Rock Island County ever to hold that position, presented a fact-packed history of the island.

On their way out of the grounds the visitors had other interesting features of the island pointed out to them — including the site of the Civil War prison camp, the Confederate cemetery where 1,953 men are buried, the United States government cemetery and the monument at the grave of Brigadier General Thomas J. Rodman, who is known as the "Father

of the Rock Island Arsenal."

A light drizzle had started falling by the time the buses reached the eighty-acre campus of Augustana College, where President Conrad J. I. Bergendoff conducted the visitors through several of the newer buildings. One of these was the Fine Arts Building and Centennial Hall, where the Tri-City Junior Symphony was rehearsing in the 1,600-seat auditorium. Another was the College Union Building, where there was an exhibit of student art. College students served as guides on the buses for the rest of the campus tour — and the buses were back at the LeClaire Hotel by 5 P.M.

About an hour and a half later the group returned to Augustana's Westerlin Hall for the College's centennial banquet, at which members of the State Society, Augustana Historical Society and Rock Island County Historical Society were guests. Presiding at the banquet session was Dr. Victor E. Beck, president of the Augustana Society and head of the Augustana Book Concern. Dr. Bergendoff was the speaker of the evening, and in his talk presented a half-hour history of Swedish immigration to the area within a fifty-mile radius of Rock Island. This section, he said, contained the first Swedish Lutheran, Swedish Baptist and Swedish Methodist churches in America. Much of his dissertation centered

about the founding and early years of Augustana.

Following this talk Dr Beck presented the first copies of the newly published book *Lincoln Images: Augustana College Centennial Essays* to four of the authors who contributed to the volume. They were O. Fritiof Ander, editor of the book and professor of history at Augustana; Ernest M. Espelie, librarian of the Denkmann Memorial Library at Augustana; Robert M. Sutton, professor of history at the University of Illinois; and Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historian.

The meeting was closed with the presentation by President Bestor F. Witter, on behalf of the Rock Island County Society, of a giant-size silver tray to Augustana College and a handsome brooch to Mrs. Bergendoff.

On Sunday a brief meeting, presided over by Ralph G. Newman, president of the State Historical Society, was held following a smorgasbord brunch in the Ski-Hi ballroom on the fifteenth floor of the LeClaire Hotel. President Newman introduced Dr. William J. ("Steamboat Bill") Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, who talked for about five minutes on several phases of his favorite subject — the Mississippi River.

This session was adjourned at 12:30 P.M. and was taken up again in about an hour at Butterworth Center (which was given

to the Moline community for civic uses by Mrs. Katherine Deere Butterworth, granddaughter of John Deere, as a memorial to her husband, William Butterworth). The audience which greeted Dr. Petersen overflowed from the living room into the foyer of the old mansion. Dr. Petersen's subject was "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi River" beginning with the arrival of the *Virginia* at Fort Snelling from St. Louis on May 10, 1823, and continuing to the present-day towboats. In all, he said, some 2,500 different vessels had been used on this "Illinois-Iowa Sea." He pointed out that one towboat now can haul as much tonnage in one season as all the boats on the river did in twenty-five years during the early nineteenth century.

Following Dr. Petersen's talk, tea was served at the Center, and the visitors completed their inspection of that fabulous old home. Before the group left, it was announced that Mrs. Charles Deere Wiman had invited them to visit her home, "Overlook," which is located diagonally across the intersection from the Center. Many accepted the invitation and found the mansion even more interesting than the other two they had seen because it is still being used as a residence. Mrs. Wiman graciously received the guests, telling them about the fine portraits and exquisite collections of jade figures, glass, and antique

medicine boxes that make her home so unusual. (Mrs. Wiman, who is the widow of Colonel Charles Deere Wiman, great-grandson of John Deere, later became the newest life member of the State Society.)

After viewing the many rooms that were opened to them, most of the visitors left and were on their way home by 4 P.M.

SPRING TOUR NOTES: For the statistical-minded, registration for the tour totaled 252; there were 195 members and guests on the bus tour; 225 were served lunch at the Arsenal; 250 (and possibly a few more) attended the Augustana College centennial banquet; and 150 were at the Sunday brunch.

Brigadier General Oren E. Hurlbut, commanding general of the Ordnance Weapons Command, who had been programed to speak at the Saturday luncheon, was out of town that day. But he returned in time to join the Society group at Butterworth Center on Sunday afternoon and address the meeting briefly.

The newspapers of Rock Island and Moline were generous in their coverage of the two-day meeting, but the *Moline Dispatch* has the distinction of printing the first color photograph for a Society event. This was the largest of six pictures of women members of the Society which filled an entire page in the Saturday editions.

The color picture showed Mrs. Charles Deere Wiman, Mrs. Marvin H. Lyon, Jr. and Miss Ruth Moll, director of Butterworth Center, admiring a painting of Mrs. William Butterworth.

Although the tour was of his home area, Louis Hauberg, brother of the late John H. Hauberg, rode the buses over the entire route on Saturday. He acted as one of the hosts at the Hauberg Center and on several occasions added to the remarks of the tour guides. The next day he gave the invocation at the brunch meeting. Another descendant of a pioneer Rock Island County family who was introduced at the brunch was Miss Lura Lukens (see page 186).

The directors of the State Historical Society, at their meeting Sunday morning, voted to hold the 1961 Spring Tour at Cairo. The occasion, which will be the last week end in April, will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first Illinois volunteer troops at the camp there.

Past presidents of the State Historical Society who attended a breakfast Sunday as guests of the 1958-1959 president, Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., were Irving Dilliard of Collinsville, Arthur Bestor of Champaign and Ralph E. Francis of Kankakee.

Mrs. William Henry, Jr., of Cambridge, a vice-president of the State Society, played appropriate historical-type music on the

electric organ at the Sunday brunch. She was quick to swing into "Happy Birthday" and the group joined in singing when it was announced that Past President Francis was one year older that day.

Homes with pipe organs are rare these days, but the Hauberg,

Butterworth and Wiman mansions all had them.

Julie, nine-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James T. Hickey of Elkhart, who frequently accompanies her parents to Society meetings, was forced by a flu bug to miss the Saturday tour — but she was all right by Sunday morning.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Dr. Victor Beck was re-elected president of the Augustana Historical Society at the annual meeting on January 27. New officers chosen at the meeting were Dr. Iverne Dowie, vice-president and secretary, and the Rev. Louis Aleman, a director.

Principal speaker at the meeting was the State Society's Executive Director, Clyde C. Walton.

The number of visitors to the Aurora Historical Society Museum almost doubled last year, Mrs. Alice Applegate reported at the annual Society meeting in January. Attendance for 1958 totaled approximately 6,000 while that for 1959 reached 11,224. This figure included 186 groups of school children, many from Indiana and Wisconsin as well as Illinois.

Officers for 1959 were all re-elected to serve throughout 1960. They include L. Ralph Mead, president; Joseph Lies, first vice-president; Robert Barclay, second vice-president; Miss Bess Lock-

hart, secretary; Norris Ulness, treasurer; and Mrs. Applegate, museum curator. Miss Beatrice Wilson was elected to the board of directors, and Professor Clarence R. Smith of Aurora College was named honorary director of the museum.

Merchants of Batavia devoted window space to promotion of the Batavia Historical Society in January. One particularly effective display, which called attention to the new Society, was centered around an antique doll carriage. Thanks to the encouragement of businessmen and the efforts of the Society's founders, over one hundred people attended the formal organization meeting of the group on February 28 at the First Baptist Church. Mrs. Barton S. Snow discussed the old Snow residence and the Brandon home, both Greek Revival structures; J. Harold Blair talked on the early music of the city; and John Gustafson gave a history of the Baptist church in Batavia.

The Society's first officers, elected at that meeting, include Miss Eunice Shumway, president; Mrs. Claire Kruger, vice-president; Mrs. Miriam Johnson, secretary; Raymond Patzer, treasurer; and John Gustafson, historian. Gustafson was also elected an honorary life member, and four trustees were chosen: M. R. Derby, Phil Carlson, Miss Viola McDowell and Carl N. More. By the end of February, the Society numbered 104 charter members.

Irvin M. Peithmann, archaeologist and author, was guest speaker at the February 9 meeting of the Bond County Historical Society, held in the Presbyterian church at Greenville. Long a specialist on Illinois Indians, Peithmann is now on leave from Southern Illinois University and is engaged in doing research among the Seminole Indians in Florida.

The major portion of his speech dealt with the Indians who once lived in southern Illinois, although he briefly discussed his current project and the Indians among whom he has been working.

Mr. and Mrs. C. K. Denny were hosts to the Society on January 12, when Mrs. Mary Jane Sandifer was in charge of the program. She presented photographs, from several local collections, of early scenes in the county.

The Boone County Historical Society is being headed by John

Tripp this year; he succeeds Richard Walls as president. Other new officers, chosen at the Society's January meeting, are Mrs. Hortense Catlin, vice-president; Everett Ryan, treasurer; and Miss Alice Weld, secretary.

John W. Allen of Carbondale, a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting on January 21 of the Centralia Area Historical Society. Allen, in addition to being a popular lecturer, writes a syndicated column, "It Happened in Southern Illinois," which appears in more than one hundred newspapers in the area, and is said to have done more than any other one person to popularize the study of history there. Southern Illinois, he told his listeners, was once somewhat isolated from the rest of the state, and hence the culture of the pioneers persisted longer in that region. The remainder of his speech also had a geographical slant, for on a large map he pointed out historic spots of southern Illinois and told stories that linked those places with national events and famous men.

Dr. H. E. Snow of Centralia also appeared on the program, discussing efforts to arrange a memorial for Robert McMillan, a Centralia resident who is believed to be the oldest railroad engineer in the world. Before his retire-

ment, Dr. Snow said, McMillan had worked for the Illinois Central for sixty-seven years.

Society President L. H. Jonas presided at the meeting, and Vice-President James B. Wham introduced the speaker. Miss Mary Jane Patchin and Mrs. Earle Harmon presented the musical portion of the program, Miss Gladys McClelland led the pledge of allegiance to the flag, and Dr. H. G. Hurley gave the invocation.

Local societies engaged in membership drives may be interested in the successful plan used by the Centralia group to boost its membership to 125. After arranging the January dinner at a good eating-place and securing a speaker with a wide appeal, the Society set the price of tickets at a figure high enough that it could give each person attending the dinner a year's membership in the organization.

Dinner committees included the following members: Mrs. A. E. Baird, Dr. G. W. Baldwin, Mrs. Harold Brady, Ernie Dolan, Earle Harmon, Mr. and Mrs. Ben Harrison, E. G. Heise, Mrs. L. H. Jonas, William Joy, Mrs. Harry B. Mapes, John Page Wham and O. W. Wright.

The groceryman taking orders at the door, the visiting sewing teacher, and chaperones for girls attending the nickelodeon — these were some of the evocative memories of Half Century Club mem-

bers who presented the program at the January meeting of the Champaign County Historical Society.

Mary Yearsley, Mrs. Miriam Corrie and Chancy Finfrock composed a panel which discussed life in Champaign-Urbana during the early part of the twentieth century. Miss Natalia Belting was moderator.

President Karl B. Lohmann presided at the business meeting and paid tribute to the late Mrs. Trenna Lamkins, one of the active organizers of the Society.

Mrs. Nelle Carpenter, Clark McCullough and Finfrock were appointed a committee to nominate candidates for three directorships.

The centennial of Abraham Lincoln's Cooper Union address was observed on February 27 by the Chicago Historical Society at a special program in the Society's auditorium. Paul M. Angle, director of the Society, spoke on the importance of the address. Following his talk the National Broadcasting Company documentary film "Meet Mr. Lincoln" was shown.

The Literati Club of Effingham High School, of which Miss Mary Burttschi is adviser, presented the program of the Effingham Historical Society at the school's community room on February 15. The students read original poems and

essays about Lincoln, as well as some of his own speeches, and also sang several songs of the Civil War era.

The January 19 meeting of the Society was held in the county courthouse, with Patrick McAndrew II and Mrs. Hilda Feldhake as speakers. McAndrew's subject was the nineteenth-century history of Effingham, and Mrs. Feldhake discussed books and pamphlets dealing with the Effingham region.

Members of the Geneva Historical Society came to their March 6 meeting laden with enough heirlooms to fill a small museum. The objects they brought provided a fascinating program for the day. Dr. Charles Lyttle, president of the Society, reviewed an early volume of the *American Phrenological Journal*; Mrs. Leon Wheeler discussed the menus suggested in a book of recipes compiled many years ago by Geneva residents; and Mrs. Warren Smith displayed an old ledger, which contained not only the minutes and records of an eastern church but also the business records of an export-import firm whose principal trade was in Jamaica rum.

Handmade farm and household tools, quilts and bedspreads, coins, china, photographs, paintings, books and toys were also exhibited and, in some cases, demonstrated.

At a brief business meeting, the secretary, Mrs. Margaret Allan,

reported that the Society had already raised \$600 to apply to the cost of microfilming the Society's collections; only \$200 more is needed to complete the project. The Society meets in the Wheeler Memorial Room of the Geneva Public Library.

Harold W. Simmons, author of the historical column "Up 'til Now," which appears in the *Kankakee Journal*, recently reported the acquisition of a valuable photograph by the Kankakee Historical Society. A gift of R. G. Drolet, it shows ruins of the Chicago fire of October 8-9, 1871.

Simmons pointed out that Kankakee citizens supplied the first carload of food, blankets and other supplies to reach Chicago after the fire. A plea for assistance from Chicago Mayor R. B. Mason reached Kankakee by telegraph on the morning of the eighth, Simmons said, and by 2 P.M. a freight car was loaded with supplies. A transportation tie-up prevented the train's departure until 7 P.M., but it reached Chicago by eleven that night, and the food was immediately distributed among the fire fighters.

Madison County Sheriff and Mrs. George Musso were hosts to the Land of Goshen Historical Society on March 6, when Miss Evelyn Bowles, chief deputy county clerk, presented a paper on

the history of Edwardsville and Madison County jails. Miss Bowles pointed out the frequently conflicting interests of humanitarians, who wanted jail conditions improved, and the advocates of economy, who in the nineteenth century, for example, refused to increase the thirty-five-cent daily allotment per prisoner for "victualling."

After the talk Sheriff Musso conducted a tour of the jail, during which he showed Society members the cellar dungeons that were once used for solitary confinement.

Attorney Harold G. Baker of East St. Louis was guest speaker at the Society's February 7 meeting in the Edwardsville Library. His subject was "Lincoln's Fifty-second Year," which, he said, was the most important in Lincoln's life. Lincoln photographs and scrapbooks, owned by Miss Lucille Ambrosius and Harold Kriege, were on display after the program.

Robert C. Lange, program chairman, and Mr. and Mrs. Kriege were hosts for the February meeting; they were assisted by Mrs. Louise Ahrens, Society president, and Miss Lena Graham, who served at the tea table.

The Society met at the home of Mrs. Norman Flagg and the late Senator Flagg for its January 3 meeting. Willard G. Flagg, their son, presented the program, which was devoted to the history of Lib-

erty Prairie — a rural community in Fort Russell Township. When his father ran for the state legislature, the speaker said, his campaign buttons bore the insignia, "Flagg of Liberty Prairie." The talk encompassed a discussion of early settlers, schools, churches and social organizations.

The death of Miss Saidie Murray, elected president of the La Salle County Historical Society in October, necessitated the adoption of a new slate of officers in January. At a special meeting of Society directors Miss Jane Mills of La Salle was named president; Mrs. Helen Lawrence Murdock, Ottawa, vice-president; Mrs. Edward H. Carus, Peru, recording secretary; Miss Florence Clarke, La Salle, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Hugh Black, La Salle, treasurer; and C. C. Tisler, Ottawa, program chairman.

The part played by La Salle County men in the Civil War was discussed by Warner Whipple of Utica at the Society's February 14 meeting in La Salle. Also appearing on the program was Mrs. John Wilson of Grand Ridge, who read extracts from family papers that illustrated the county's history.

One of the projects of the Society is its joint sponsorship, with the Rock River Methodist Conference and the First Methodist Church of Sheridan, of a bronze marker at the site of the Indian

Creek Mission. Founded in the 1820's by the Rev. Jesse Walker, the mission was the first the Methodists had in northern Illinois.

The fourth annual dinner meeting of the Marshall County Historical Society was held at the First Methodist Church in Lacon on January 19, the one hundred twenty-first anniversary of the county's founding. Alexander Summers of Mattoon, a past president of the State Society and a vice-chairman of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, was the speaker. His talk, illustrated with colored slides, dealt principally with the Amish settlement at Arthur, Illinois, although he also discussed settlements by other religious sects and communal groups at Bishop Hill, Nauvoo, and New Harmony, Indiana.

At the conclusion of the address the Society's 1960 officers, chosen earlier by the directors, were presented to the membership. All of the incumbents were returned to office; they are Ray B. Litchfield, Toluca, president; Mrs. Blake Grieves, Lacon, vice-president; Mrs. Orlo King, Varna, vice-president; John Boose, Henry, vice-president; Wayne Buck, Richland Township, treasurer; and Eleanor Bussell, Lacon, secretary.

The following directors were elected: Wayland Downey, Henry; Mrs. Edna Hattan, Benning-

ton; Ralph Kimpling, Bell Plain Township; James Leigh, La Prairie Township; Clifford Marshall, Speer; Rupert Nurse, Bell Plain; Clarence Tuttle, Henry; and Ralph Wier, Hopewell. The nominating committee consisted of T. Val Wenk, Lacon, chairman, Mrs. Grieves and Mr. Boose.

The Society's membership now numbers approximately eighty, but 121 — the age of the county — was set as the goal for 1960.

The Mercer County Historical Society heard Fred Close of Aledo discuss the history of New Boston Township at its February 2 meeting.

President Archer Sheats has announced that the Society will meet regularly on the first Tuesday of each month at the Essley-Noble Memorial Museum in Aledo.

William Jennings Bryan's association with Jacksonville — from his arrival to attend school in 1875 through his visit at the time of the city's centennial celebration fifty years later — was reviewed by Alfred Hodgson, editor of the *Waverly Journal*, before the Morgan County Historical Society on January 22.

The account was enlivened by anecdotes and reminiscences collected by the speaker from the many Jacksonville area residents who knew Bryan.

Preston W. Kimball is the new president of the Nauvoo Histori-

cal Society. Other 1960 officers, elected at the annual meeting on January 19, are Lane K. Newberry, first vice-president; Mrs. Edna Griffith, second vice-president; Ray J. Repplinger, third vice-president; Miss Mary Siegfried, secretary; K. J. Reinhardt, treasurer; Mrs. Carl Blum, librarian; Mrs. Dorothy Baxter, corresponding secretary; Paxon J. Lewis, auditor; Sister M. Constance, historiographer.

A review of the Society's 1959 activities showed that members devoted the principal part of their volunteer work to operating the museum and providing guide service for both the museum and the community during the annual Nauvoo Grape Festival. Thirteen thousand visitors registered at the museum last year, and two thousand of them came during the festival.

The Ogle County Historical Society met February 29 at the Leaf River Grange at Lightsville. Principal speaker was W. F. Light, whose subject was the history of the community, which was founded by his great-grandfather.

Mrs. George Howes, new president of the Palatine Historical Society, recently announced plans to display letters, pictures and other objects of historical interest in the Palatine Library, where the Society has been given space for its meetings and collections.

Other 1960 officers of the Palatine group are Mrs. Florence Parkhurst, first vice-president; Mrs. Lola Muller, second vice-president; Mrs. Joseph Kusek, recording secretary; Mrs. Zelda Bennett, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Irene Wilson, treasurer.

"Lincoln's Lineage and Youth" was the subject of the address by Eugene W. Parks at the February 15 meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. Mrs. J. C. Thompson also spoke briefly. The Society meets at the Student Center of Bradley University.

The first of a series of fund-raising events to pay for the preservation and restoration of the octagonal Charter Oak School, recently purchased by the Randolph County Historical Society, was a chicken and dumpling supper held at the Odd Fellows Hall in Sparta on February 20. The finance committee, consisting of A. W. Mines and Martin Kloth of Schuline and Raymond Heuman of Walsh, announced that some \$225 was raised.

Other projects of the Society include history seminars for Society members who will serve as guides for visitors to the county.

Elroy Hoeb, an authority on county history, spoke to one of the seminars on February 5 and repeated his talk later in the month at Chester before the entire Society. On March 17, Dr.

George W. Adams, head of the history department at Southern Illinois University and a director of the State Society, was guest speaker at the regular monthly meeting, held in Sparta. His subject was "The Fascinating Civil War."

Mrs. Paul Hatfield, vice-president of the Saline County Historical Society, will serve as president for the remainder of the term to which the late Louis E. Aaron was elected on February 2 (see May, 1960, issue of the *Dispatch*). Other officers are Don Scott, second vice-president, and James Bond, secretary-treasurer. John Foster was named a director to fill the unexpired term of George O. Davenport.

The program for the February meeting was devoted to the life of Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. Mrs. Clarence Bosket, the speaker, illustrated her talk with slides of historic sites associated with Lincoln's youth. Mrs. Earl Hancock, Mrs. J. D. Morse, Mrs. James T. Garner and Miss Hannah Bond were hostesses.

Films on the Declaration of Independence and historic Williamsburg, Virginia, provided the program for the Society's March 1 meeting.

The exhibits at the Stephenson County Historical Museum during March were provided by the fifty-

one 4-H clubs of the county. The museum is open on Friday, Saturday and Sunday from 2 to 5 P.M.

Four members of the 4-H also presented the program for the Society's meeting on March 11. This emphasis on farm life stems from the Society's farm museum project. The new museum building is completed and displays are being installed.

Maintenance of the building is the responsibility of the Freeport Park District, but the original cost of the structure was borne half by the Society and half by the estate of Miss Marguerite Millikan. The Society is undertaking a special membership campaign to raise funds for its share of the costs.

Other special activities scheduled this year include the observance of the centennial of Jane Addams' birth (September 6) at Cedarville, in Stephenson County, and preparations for the Civil War Centennial.

Students of Miss Lucile Gray, of the Freeport Junior High School, presented the February program of the Historical Society. Participating in a panel discussion moderated by Miss Gray were Barbara Ramey, Susan Osheroff, Kay Fishburn, Nancy Kintzel, Jeannette Euler, Linda French, Barbara Fortner and Bob Tucker. Their subject was little-known facts about Abraham Lincoln, and each of the students had done

research into Lincoln's life in preparation of articles for *Illinois History*.

Miss Gray has been one of the most active supporters of the student historian program, and the papers of her pupils often appear in the magazine. Although *Illinois History* is used by many schools merely for outside reading and for source material, the editor, Mrs. Olive S. Foster, states that the students who become contributors are the ones for whom the magazine is most valuable — but students rarely become contributors unless they are encouraged to do so by their teachers.

The Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society opened its museum to the public on Sunday afternoons in February in observance of National History Month. Located in the Central School, the museum contains the collections of the old Whiteside County Historical Society plus many recent acquisitions. The displays have been assembled and arranged by William U'Ren, Dollee Fauth, Christian Kilgus, Leroy Thummel and Lloyd Elfline.

The Society's January 19 program was devoted to old letters; those displayed included letters from the Society's collections as well as a number brought by members. Among the most interesting were letters signed by John C. Calhoun, Ethan Allen, and many early Whiteside County settlers

who described travel from the East to Illinois.

Hilary Devine and Gunnar Benson also took part in the program. President Benson presented Miss Gay Elfline, who told of the research required for her paper on Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson which appeared in the January issue of *Illinois History*.

V. R. Olmstead of Prophetstown was guest speaker at the Society's February 16 meeting. An authority on the Chippewa Indians, Olmstead displayed samples of the art work of that tribe and appeared in a traditional Chippewa costume. His talk was on "Chippewa Life and Customs of Yesterday and Today."

B. G. Jarnstedt, Swedish consul general at Chicago, was principal speaker at the March 6 meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford. Also participating in the program were a group of students who are studying Swedish at East High School.

In a business meeting the Society elected officers for 1960 and discussed program plans for the year. All incumbent officers were re-elected (see Summer, 1959, *Journal*) and were named directors for one-year terms. New directors, for three-year terms, are the Rev. Ragnar Moline, Edward G. Borgstrom, Ragnar Eggehorn and Oscar Freeman. Re-elected to three-year terms were Thorsten Thorstenson, Oscar and W. T.

Peterson, Mrs. Hildur Eklund, Mrs. Svea Fridh, Holger A. Pearson, Mrs. Signe Sjoblom, Martin Hawkinson, Emil P. Olson, Allen Mallquist and Paul Forsgren. Elected to a two-year term was Collins Y. Sundberg.

The anniversary of Lincoln's birth was commemorated by the Vandalia Historical Society with a symposium on Lincoln as seen in the writings of Lincoln authors.

The participants, and the Lincoln works they discussed, were as follows: Stanley Stewart — James Morgan's *Abraham Lincoln, the Boy and the Man*; Miss Irene Schenker — Lord Charnwood's *Abraham Lincoln*; Charles Nutter — Allan Nevins' *Emergence of Lincoln*; Miss Edyth Hausmann — Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln*; Louis McLaughlin — William E. Baringer's *Lincoln's Vandalia*; James Rexwinkle — *Lincoln and Vandalia* by Lester O. Shriver and Joseph C. Burtschi; Miss Josephine Burtschi — W. E. Woodward's *Meet General Grant*.

Approximately one hundred people attended the program, which was arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Roy Dooley, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Stewart and Mrs. Anna Hamer.

The Wayne County Historical Society is the beneficiary of a \$10,000 bequest from the estate

of the late Mrs. Minn L. Brown of Flora. The gift, announced in February, will be used to construct a museum on the south side of the new library in Fairfield. Mayor Wasson W. Lawrence of Fairfield, who is also president of the Historical Society, said that the group had long talked of a museum and that the bequest would now make it possible.

Mrs. Brown, who was ninety-four when she died, was a former resident of Fairfield, where her father practiced law.

The old Ratcliff Inn, 216 East Main Street, Carmi, which was built in 1828 and is where Abraham Lincoln is said to have stayed during the campaign of 1840, has recently been acquired by the White County Historical Society and will be restored to its original appearance. The Society plans to establish a museum on the second floor of the old brick building; the first floor will be rented.

John Greenberg of St. Louis, former owner, had been offered \$20,000 for the building, but he agreed to sell it to the Society for \$15,000 — almost \$3,000 less than he paid for it. Within two weeks the Society raised \$5,000 for the down payment; the balance is payable in ten years without interest.

Initial restoration was started in March. More extensive repairs will be undertaken as funds become available, President Rob-

ert Smith said. C. F. Rebstock is chairman of the building committee.

William Farley of Saline County presented an illustrated lecture on historic and scenic spots of southern Illinois at the quarterly meeting of the Williamson County Historical Society held in the

Carnegie Library Lounge at Marion on January 10.

Society President James Sanders of Marion was in charge of the meeting, and reports were given by Mrs. Christina C. Mercer, secretary and publicity chairman, and Mrs. Jessie Gray, treasurer. The meeting drew a record attendance.

Ribbons and Medals of the 1860 Campaign

All of the ribbons and medals pictured on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* are from the Illinois State Historical Library's collections of material on the 1860 election.

The two ribbons in the middle — the round one, made of red silk, and the one above it in pale blue — are the oldest and rarest of the group. They are handmade do-it-yourself badges on which a picture of Lincoln was pasted. They were worn at the Wigwam convention of May, 1860, in Chicago. The Lincoln ribbon at top left was issued by the "Tenth Ward People's Campaign Club" of Philadelphia. The ribbon at right with the lettering "Douglas and Johnson [Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia] the Union now and forever" was printed by Leary and Brown of Philadelphia and was offered "For sale, wholesale."

All of the fifteen medals were used in Lincoln's campaign. They range in size from that of the present-day cent to slightly larger

than a silver dollar (and twice as thick). The metals used are varieties of brass and pewter. Some have holes punched in them and could have been attached to a lapel ribbon, but most of them were used as pocket pieces.

Only two of the fifteen in the picture are duplicates, and those have a tintype of Lincoln on the front and one of Hannibal Hamlin on the back. They are the size of a quarter and are the only ones that have a milled edge.

Lincoln's profile and his name appear on the front of all the medals, some of which have the date and perhaps a few words such as "Republican candidate for President." But the wording on the backs expounds a variety of ideas. The wording on the front of the smallest one is unusual, however; it reads, "Abraham Lincoln, natus. Feb. 12, 1809," while that on the back says, "Abraham Lincoln/ Honest Abe of the West/ the Hannibal of America, 1860." The wording on the backs

of some of the others reads: "Republican candidate/ 1860/ no more slave territory," "Freedom national/ slavery sectional," "Our policy is expressly the policy of the men who made the Union/ no more, no less," "Protection to American industry/ free homes for free men," "The peoples choice 1860/ Lincoln & Hamlin/ freedom & protection," "Republi-

can candidate for sixteenth President of the United States," and "The great rail-splitter of the West must & shall be our next President."

The thirty-three-star flag in the background is eleven by sixteen inches in size. Printed on it in black letters approximately three inches high are the names "Lincoln and Hamlin."

Executive Director Has a Busy Schedule

The second quarter of 1960 was a busy period for Clyde C. Walton, Executive Director of the Illinois State Historical Society, even though it did include a twelve-day vacation. Here is a summary of that three-month schedule:

April 2: As a member of the state committee attended the National Library Week in Illinois banquet in Springfield.

April 8: Attended meeting of the Chicago Civil War Round Table.

April 10: At Eldorado, Illinois, for the funeral of Louis E. Aaron, a director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

April 13: On behalf of the State Department of the United States acted as Springfield area host to Goronwy Owen Roberts, Member of Parliament from Wales.

April 18-29: Went on vacation to Albuquerque, New Mexico,

took the Overland Trail to Denver, and then returned across the Staked Plains of Texas to Vicksburg, Mississippi, and north along the River.

May 5: At meeting of the National Civil War Centennial Commission in St. Louis.

May 6: In Chicago to attend the funeral of Alfred Whital Stern, former trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library.

May 7-8: At annual Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society in Moline-Rock Island.

May 12: Addressed the Decatur Civil War Round Table on "Illinois in the Civil War."

May 18-19: At Fort Knox and Elizabethtown, Kentucky, to attend the formal dedication of the new marker at the grave of Bathsheba Lincoln, grandmother of the Sixteenth President. The Illinois State Historical Library was one of the sponsors of the new marker.

May 20-22: Attended meeting of Civil War Centennial Association at Fish Creek, Wisconsin.

May 25: Visited Shawneetown to discuss plans for the special Regional Meeting of the State Historical Society on July 1-2 in co-operation with the Shawneetown Sesquicentennial.

May 26: In Chicago for conference on remodeling work at the Centennial Building, Springfield, which will provide additional space for the State Historical Library.

May 27: Attended meeting of the Chicago Civil War Round Table.

May 28-29: Participated in commencement exercises at Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois.

June 5: Attended benefit garden party given by Mrs. Robert R. Williams of Carmi for the White County Historical Society.

June 8-9: Acted, on behalf of

the State Department, as host and guide to a group of twenty young political leaders from NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) nations on their tour of the Springfield area.

June 10-12: As local arrangements chairman and one of the speakers took part in the Historic Preservation Workshop held in Springfield. The workshop was sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the State Department of Conservation and the Illinois State Historical Society.

June 17: Visited the plant of the Gerstenslager Company, Wooster, Ohio, where the Historical Society's Robert R. McCormick Historymobile is under construction.

June 18-29: Attended the annual meeting of the American Library Association at Montreal and Ottawa, Canada.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

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Table of Contents

229	<i>The Centennial Year of Two Great Illinoisans: Jane Addams and William Jennings Bryan</i> IRVING DILLIARD
247	<i>Jane Addams vs. The Ward Boss</i> ALLEN F. DAVIS
266	<i>Bryan the Orator</i> BOYCE HOUSE
283	LINCOLNIANA NOTES <i>Lincoln and the Miracles-at-Sea</i> <i>Mary's Sister Tells of the Lincolns' Marriage</i> <i>Another Lincoln Memorial for Springfield?</i>
289	FAMILY HISTORIES
294	RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
295	BOOK REVIEWS
314	NEWS AND COMMENT

Illustrations

- 230 *Illinois Map Locating Cedarville and Salem*
233 *William Jennings Bryan's Birthplace*
239 *Jane Addams' Birthplace*
249 *Jane Addams and a Group of Hull House Friends*
268 *William Jennings Bryan in 1896*
280 *A 1904 Caricature of William Jennings Bryan*
318 *The Jane Addams Centennial Seal*
319 *Newton C. Farr Presents Sang Award to LaRoy
Morning*
320 *Helen Horney, Lieutenant Governor John W.
Chapman and Mary Kay Messling*
320 *Lloyd Casey Receives Award from Walter E. McBride*
321 *Ralph G. Newman Presents Award to Caroline Gilster*
322 *Richard S. Hagen Presents Award to Virginia Spry*
323 *Roger English Admires Lincoln Photograph Presented
to Him by King V. Hostick*
331 *Seal of the Ogle County Historical Society*

The Centennial Year of Two Great Illinoisans: Jane Addams And William Jennings Bryan

Since he retired in February after nearly thirty-three years with the editorial department of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Irving Dilliard has been busier than ever. He is a resident of Collinsville, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a former trustee of the Historical Library. He has promised to write an occasional article for this Journal when his traveling, lecturing, teaching and other writing will permit.

WHO ARE the two most distinguished natives of Illinois? If an accurate means of determining this point could be devised, which son of the Prairie State and which daughter would lead all their brothers and sisters in distinction as notable Americans?

Certainly it is not for any one person to say positively who these two native Illinoisans would be, and the author of the present article will not attempt to do so. He does, however, have nominations for very high rank on the list, and it is his opinion that if these two are not the most distinguished natives of Illinois then they are the ones who will need to be surpassed by others still more distinguished.

The native son is William Jennings Bryan and the native daughter is Jane Addams, and since both of them were born in 1860 this is jointly their centennial year.

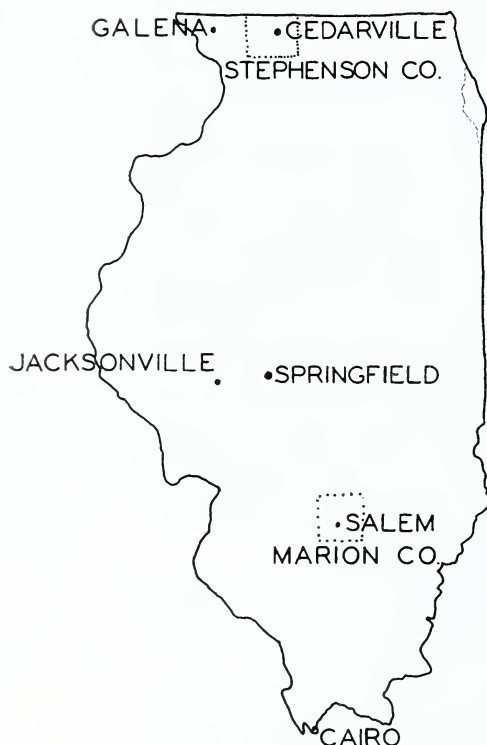
Subsequent articles in this issue of the *Journal of the Illi-*

TWO GREAT ILLINOISANS

nois State Historical Society deal with specific aspects of the lives of each — of Bryan as an orator and of Jane Addams as a reformer at work on the level of local politics. It is the purpose of the present article to sketch the career of each as the setting for the more detailed study of a particular phase.

Since William Jennings Bryan was born March 19, 1860, some six months before Jane Addams, whose birth date was September 6, 1860, this article will review first the significant facts about the male member of this outstanding pair of Civil War-eve Illinoisans.

Bryan was born in Salem, county seat of Marion County, deep in southern Illinois, about half way across the state between the Mississippi and Wabash rivers. On a north-



A century ago this year two widely separated villages, Cedarville in Stephenson County and Salem in Marion County, gave Illinois two of her most distinguished citizens, Jane Addams and William Jennings Bryan.

south line Salem is approximately midway from Decatur to Cairo.

The future political leader's parents were Silas Lillard Bryan, of Virginia farmer stock, and his wife, Mariah Elizabeth Jennings. The father, who ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the national House of Representatives in 1872, sent his son to Jacksonville, Illinois, for six years of education, first in the Academy and then at Illinois College, from which he was graduated in 1881. William Jennings then spent two years reading law at the Union College of Law in Chicago, where he enjoyed many hours in the law office of United States Senator Lyman Trumbull, a friend of the elder Bryan's.

The young man's oratorical talents began to show in college, where he was an enthusiastic debater. He had little time for athletics although he was an excellent broad jumper. He opened his first law office on July 4, 1883, in Jacksonville and by the next year was getting along well enough to take as his bride Mary Baird, from nearby Perry, in Pike County.

After four years in Jacksonville, the lure of the new West attracted the young couple to Lincoln, Nebraska, where Mrs. Bryan, as well as her husband, was admitted to the bar. But Bryan in his late twenties was not so firmly rooted in the law that it held him when a career in politics beckoned. At the age of thirty he carried the normally Republican Lincoln district as a Democratic candidate for the national House. His majority was the ample one of 6,700, and in 1892 he was re-elected. Two years later he tried for the Senate, but he was not able to win election for enough Democrats to the Nebraska legislature in those days of indirect election of senators.

To make a living, Bryan assumed the editorship of the

Omaha World-Herald, and journalism thereafter played an important part in his life, particularly after January 23, 1901, when he founded the *Commoner*, a weekly which he used in his fight against the influence of wealth in political affairs. He also became a popular lecturer and for many years was one of the leading attractions on the Chautauqua platforms.

While in Congress, the young lawmaker was fortunate enough to be assigned to the House Ways and Means Committee, before which tariff issues were brought. He was more interested, however, in the silver question and became one of the leading speakers in the silver group which undertook a pre-convention drive to influence the Democratic National Convention of 1896 on behalf of the free coinage of silver.

As a thirty-six-year-old delegate to that convention, Bryan delivered one of the most famous addresses in American history. Speaking on the subject of the party platform, he sketched the history of the free silver course. He said that the silver Democrats had gone from victory to victory and were at the Chicago convention "not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people." He worked up to a highly dramatic peroration, which closed with these ringing, eloquent words:

Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

The effect was immediate and tremendous. The Boy Orator from the Platte so electrified the silver forces who



William Jennings Bryan was born in this unpretentious Salem home. It is now a memorial museum.

were in charge of a new alignment of western and southern elements in the party that he was swept to the presidential nomination on the fifth ballot. He delivered his speech of acceptance in Madison Square Garden, New York, to a large audience, and at once launched into a whirlwind campaign that made unlimited coinage of silver the chief issue.

His opponents in the election, with Governor William McKinley of Ohio as the Republican nominee, belittled Bryan's youth and oratory. The young candidate, however, was unmoved by such criticism and proceeded to conduct one of the most remarkable of presidential campaigns. Using his superb voice to convey his simple convictions to the electorate, Bryan crossed and crisscrossed the country, traveling in all eighteen thousand miles. He addressed some six hundred audiences and aggressively appealed to the

people to take up political arms against what he called their controllers and misleaders in Wall Street.

Bryan's message attracted many farmers and workers to his banner, but not enough of them. McKinley conducted almost the direct opposite kind of campaign by remaining on his front porch in Canton, Ohio, where he received trainloads of greeters, and then won by 600,000 in a total vote of 13,600,000. The electoral vote was 271 to 176. Money played a larger part than in any presidential campaign up to that time, for the McKinley forces, led by Marcus A. Hanna, enjoyed the financial support of a national committee with seemingly limitless funds at its disposal.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 Bryan was made a colonel by the Governor of Nebraska. He recruited a regiment, but the war did not last long enough for his unit to be sent outside the country. When the treaty with Spain was concluded, he resigned his commission and returned to politics.

The 1900 Democratic National Convention found him still the great favorite of the party's rank and file. Easterners sought to eliminate the silver plank, but Bryan declined to be the nominee unless the party stood again for free silver. He did agree that there should be other issues and so took up the question of "territorial expansion," which came in the wake of the war with Spain. His appeal to the people to put imperialism aside did not persuade many who looked on the Philippines as the spoils of war. McKinley was re-elected and his majorities were somewhat larger than in 1896.

Perhaps not expecting to achieve a third nomination in 1904 but desiring to carry on his battle against the power of wealth in the political arena, Bryan founded the *Commoner*

less than three months after his second defeat for the presidency. While the Bryan weekly enjoyed a substantial base of subscribers, it was even more influential through its impact in daily newspaper offices where it was read and quoted. For twelve years Bryan contributed the weekly's leading articles.

After the defeat of New York's Judge Alton B. Parker in 1904 by Republican Theodore Roosevelt, who had ascended to the White House from the vice-presidency following the assassination of McKinley, the Democratic Party in 1908 placed its national standard in Bryan's hand for the third time.

The first Roosevelt was successful, however, in getting the country to accept his hand-picked choice, William Howard Taft, in a campaign which was marked for its confusion of the issues. Bryan continued to be a political force by means of his writings, addresses and lectures and profoundly influenced the 1912 convention and through it the course of history.

Waging his fight against what he called the money power with as much vigor as ever, he attended the Baltimore nominating convention determined to keep the eastern forces from inducing the delegates to accept a candidate who would, as Bryan thought, be under Wall Street control. Through the early ballots the leading contenders were Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, Speaker of the House Champ Clark of Missouri and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.

On the tenth ballot, the New York strength was transferred from Harmon to Clark. That was a sign, so Bryan contended, that the financial interests had taken over Clark and that the Missourian was no longer to be considered a

progressive. Bryan personally had favored Wilson from the outset. In swinging the Nebraska delegation to Wilson, he stopped the rise of the Clark fortunes, notwithstanding the Speaker's denunciation of the Bryan charges as "false and infamous." Wilson passed Clark on the twenty-fifth ballot and was nominated on the forty-sixth.

Bryan handled the course of the Baltimore convention with rare political skill. His friends urged him to allow his name to go before the delegates, but he resisted the temptation although he knew that the Republicans were split between Taft and Roosevelt and that the Democratic nominee most probably would win.

The first Democratic President since Cleveland made Bryan Secretary of State, a post which he held from March 4, 1913, to June 9, 1915. International affairs and diplomacy were lesser interests, however, and Bryan was not too adept in the No. 1 place in the Cabinet. He conceived and concluded a series of arbitration treaties with thirty nations as the war clouds gathered. His greatest service to Wilson, to whom he was completely loyal, was in helping secure the adoption by Congress of the "New Freedom" legislative program, including particularly the Federal Reserve Bank Act. To Bryan that law was the means for breaking up Wall Street's control of the United States economy.

Bryan was essentially a pacifist and he was convinced that the issues which had embroiled Europe in war could be settled by peaceful negotiation. He continued to advocate the use of arbitration even after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Wilson, however, supported by his other presidential advisers, felt that more immediate and firmer action was required, and this brought Bryan and Wilson to a parting of the ways. Bryan declined to send to Germany the second *Lusitania*

note, whereupon he resigned in June, 1915, to give the President a free hand.

Twice more Bryan attended Democratic National Conventions. In 1920 he battled in vain for a prohibition plank, as he was also an outstanding crusader against alcoholism and its evils. In 1924 the liquor issue was still prominent, and Bryan backed William G. McAdoo against Alfred E. Smith, who lost the nomination to John W. Davis. Other reform causes for which Bryan worked hard included popular election of senators, the federal income tax and woman suffrage.

From boyhood Bryan was a Presbyterian, his faith being of the simple fundamentalist variety. As "modernism" began to spread in Protestant churches, he held the more staunchly to "the old-time religion," and one of his most frequently delivered lectures was entitled "Is the Bible True?" His answer was an unequivocal affirmative.

Bryan worked for the passage of the Tennessee law which prohibited the teaching, in the state's tax-supported schools, of the Darwinian doctrine of gradual evolution. When John T. Scopes was tried for violating the law in Dayton, Tennessee, Bryan returned to the attorney's role, this time on the side of the prosecution. The defense called in Clarence Darrow, noted freethinker, and the forensic contest was widely reported in the newspapers of the country. Darrow put Bryan on the stand, and the merciless grilling of the unshaken believer was a high point of the trial. Within five days of the battle's end, Bryan died peacefully asleep in bed. The world had changed markedly in his lifetime and William Jennings Bryan but little. For his honesty, his consistency and his devotion he was mourned as few men of his generation.

Perhaps a personal footnote may be included at this point.

It was the good fortune of the writer of this article, when a reporter on the *Daily Illini*, student newspaper at the University of Illinois, in 1925, to be assigned to cover a visit of Bryan to the Champaign-Urbana community for an address. The reporter enlarged on his assignment and met Bryan at the train and volunteered to assist him in seeing anything that might interest him. The political leader said he would like to tour the University's justly celebrated College of Agriculture.

It was a perfect choice. The student-reporter had covered the "ag school" in his freshman year. When he escorted Bryan into the beef cattle barn, one of the employees, a short, elderly man in overalls, recognized the visitor as the candidate for whom he had cast his first presidential ballot years before. Tears came into his eyes. He said that he had never thought that someday "the Commoner" whom he had admired so long would appear at the cattle barn where he worked with a pitchfork.

That night after the lecture the reporter handed Bryan a small book to autograph. It was a copy of Woodrow Wilson's remarkable essay, "When a Man Comes to Himself." Bryan commended the Wilson message with enthusiasm and then wrote on the flyleaf: "This book contains excellent advice from one who earned the right to advise. With all good wishes, yours truly, William Jennings Bryan, June 1, 1925." He went almost immediately to Dayton, Tennessee, for the Scopes trial, so that was Bryan's last visit to the state of his birth. He died seven weeks later, July 26, 1925.

Jane Addams was born in Cedarville, a village in Stephenson County, which borders Wisconsin and on the west joins Jo Daviess County, the northwesternmost county in Illinois.



Jane Addams' birthplace at Cedarville was built in 1854 and is still being occupied as a residence.

Cedarville is six miles north of the county seat, Freeport. Jane Addams was the eighth child of John Huy Addams and his first wife, Sarah Weber. Ancestor Walter Adams, who emigrated from England and settled in Pennsylvania in the 1600's, spelled the name "Adams," but his son, Isaac, inserted another "d." This caused Abraham Lincoln to write to John Huy Addams, who served in the Illinois State Senate from 1854 to 1870, as "My dear Double-D'ed Addams."¹ On her mother's side Jane Addams was descended from Christian Weber (pronounced Weeber), a German who emigrated to Philadelphia in 1727.

John Huy Addams brought his Pennsylvania bride to northern Illinois in 1844 and soon became a prosperous miller. He was active in getting a railroad into the county.

1. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York, 1910), 31.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he recruited a military company known as the "Addams Guards." When Jane was only two her mother died. Five years later the father married Mrs. Anna H. Haldeman, who had three children by her first husband. A woman of talent and force, she was very fond of reading and influenced little Jane in the direction of books and cultural things.

Jane Addams suffered from curvature of the spine in her early years, but this disability was relieved by an operation. Even so she was often in pain. She was particularly close to her father, with whom she discussed her girlhood concerns and other matters as they arose. Her public schooling was in effect supplemented at home with both parents joining in. In 1877 she entered nearby Rockford College, where she was soon active in the battle for woman's rights. She supported the cause of feminism in the first interstate debating contest open to members of her college class.

After taking her degree in 1882, Jane Addams went to the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia, but ill health broke into her course and she proceeded in 1883 to Europe, where she spent the next two years in travel and study. On her return to the United States she was still uncertain as to what she wanted to do, so she went back to Europe in 1887 with one of her Rockford College friends, Ellen Gates Starr. On that trip she became acquainted with the work of Toynbee Hall, social settlement in a poor district of London. She also began to read and write about social reform. When she returned to the United States the second time, she had decided what she wanted to do.

Her plan took form early in 1889 when she and Ellen Starr went to Chicago to find a house or building which could be used as a settlement headquarters in one of the most de-

pressed districts of the bulging city. At Polk and Halsted streets, half way between the stockyards and the ship-building yards, an old mansion, once the homestead of Charles J. Hull, a Chicago pioneer, stood waiting, so it seemed, for Jane Addams to take it over. At first she rented only part of the house, and she and Ellen Starr assumed charge on September 14, 1889.

In a very short time Hull-House — for that is what Jane Addams called the new social settlement (and she always used the hyphen) — became one of the most remarkable places in all America. Immediately the renovated old mansion opened wide its doors to the immigrants who lived in unpainted shacks in the cheerless blocks that spread in every direction. Hull House provided nursery schools for the children and literacy classes for their working parents. It taught handicrafts as well as reading. It afforded library services and public health facilities. It drew no color or nationality lines. The first nurse was a Negro woman, and when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed, Jane Addams was one of the founders.

There were sweatshops in the neighborhood, and workers in the garment trade needed a place to discuss ways and means to combat its merciless exploitation of women and girls. Hull House made them welcome and one of the great clothing unions had its beginnings in the old mansion. Jane Addams was named arbitrator in a garment strike that involved ninety thousand workers. She rejected a proposed settlement that would have prohibited collective bargaining. She was convinced that such a bar would only lead to still more problems.

The slender, frail young woman believed in doing the job at hand. She saw piles of decaying garbage in the neighbor-

hood and arranged at the Chicago City Hall to be appointed official inspector of streets and alleys in the vicinity. She said long afterward that she was never prouder of any title than that one!

The group of co-workers assembled by Jane Addams at Hull House went to work in behalf of a series of urgent labor and social reforms. The needs were great, and with the election as governor in 1892 of the outstanding progressive, John Peter Altgeld, who had worked himself up from bitterest poverty, changes in state policy were possible. One of his administration's first accomplishments was the enactment of an Illinois factory regulation law that was in truth revolutionary. It limited the hours a woman might work in a factory to eight a day. It forbade the employment of children under fourteen years of age. It began the control of tenement sweatshops. And it provided a State Factory Inspector at the head of a Factory Inspection Department. Governor Altgeld filled the new post by appointing Florence Kelley, one of Jane Addams' close friends at Hull House. Florence Kelley was the first woman to head a state factory inspection department, and the only one until Governor Alfred E. Smith appointed Frances Perkins in New York State, thirty-five years later.

This was only one of many indications of how far Jane Addams and her associates were ahead of their times. In 1892 the first playground in Chicago was opened at Hull House. Meantime the dedicated young women saw that it was necessary to follow the children of the city streets through their troubles with the law. The result was the creation in 1899 of the first juvenile court in the United States. But a juvenile court, valuable though it was, needed assistance, as experience demonstrated. A decade later the first Child

Guidance Clinic was established through Hull House efforts.

Jane Addams believed intensely in the role of the public school in American democracy, and, beginning in 1905, she served a term on the Chicago Board of Education. But she worked not only on the city and state levels for social betterment but also on the national level. After a long fight she finally saw the creation by Congress of the United States Children's Bureau in Washington. Jane Addams was described as the "godmother" of this guardian of the nation's children. She might well have been its first chief but preferred to see recognition go to the talents of her associates.

When the new post was filled in 1912 by President William Howard Taft, it was with another of Jane Addams' co-workers. She was Julia Clifford Lathrop, who had already served in Illinois by appointment of Governor Altgeld as the first woman member of the State Board of Public Charities. When Julia Lathrop resigned as head of the Children's Bureau in 1921, she was succeeded by still another of the Jane Addams group at Hull House, Grace Abbott.

Lacking the right to vote, Jane Addams and her associates were indefatigable leaders in the woman-suffrage movement. She did not wait, however, for use of the ballot to express her likes and dislikes in election contests. She was a leader of women in behalf of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party in 1912 and a strong influence in its support of legislative safeguards against industrial accidents, occupational diseases, excessive hours and other industrial hazards. Her impact on legislation in Illinois can be seen in the fact that woman suffrage was achieved in Illinois in 1913, seven years before the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women the right to vote, was put into the United States Constitution.

Yet all these aspects of Jane Addams' life, wholesome, con-

structive and pioneering as they were, led, so it may be contended, to a far greater work on a much larger stage. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 led her to devote herself largely to the cause of peace over the next twenty years. She was one of the first to see that war needed to be outlawed by international action. She became the first chairman of the American Women's Peace Party and helped draw up its platform, planks of which later appeared among Woodrow Wilson's historic Fourteen Points for world peace.

In the midst of the war Jane Addams was chosen president of the International Congress of Women at the Hague to work for the mediation of international disputes through neutral nations. After helping feed women and children victims of the war, enemy as well as ally, she assumed the presidency of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and on a world scale promoted international meetings of women in behalf of peace, labor and social reforms and the alleviation of hunger. Her leadership took her to international gatherings as chairman or presiding officer in Zurich, Vienna, Prague and The Hague as well as Washington. She richly deserved the Nobel Peace Prize which was awarded to her in 1931, the first such recognition to go to a woman.

Busy as she was in these almost limitless programs of work, Jane Addams found time to do an extraordinary amount of writing. The titles of her books suggest her career: *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910), *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1916), *Peace and Bread* (1922), *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1930), *The Excellent Becomes*

the Permanent (1932) and *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* (1935). These writings combined experience, narration, anecdote, humor, aphorism and thinking on a high plane. The first volume of her Hull House recollections quickly won recognition as a classic of American autobiography. In observance of the centennial a new edition of *Peace and Bread* has been issued and also a new selection of Jane Addams' writings on her major interests, with a foreword by Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court. A commemorative stamp was not issued for the centennial year because she appeared in the Famous Americans stamp series in 1940.

Theodore Roosevelt called her "America's most useful citizen," and when she was awarded the Nobel Prize, a Swedish scholar said, "She is the foremost woman of her nation, not far from being its greatest citizen." A short time before she died of cancer, a meeting in her honor was held in Washington to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Oswald Garrison Villard, the noted journalist, said on that occasion, "We are surely met less to praise Jane Addams than to recite our own rare fortune that she has been and is of us, and that it has been our country that gave her to the world." Fifteen colleges and universities awarded her honorary degrees, among them Yale, Smith, Wisconsin, Chicago and Northwestern.

At her death, on May 21, 1935, high and low alike went to Hull House to express appreciation for her life and good works. Walter Lippmann wrote: "It is to renew men's faith, so hard to hold, so easy to lose, that saints are born as witnesses and as examples. Jane Addams was a witness to the ancient American faith that democracy can be noble

and that serenity and pity and understanding can pervade the spirit of a strong and proud people.”

But it takes Jane Addams’ own words to show how much she means to the world a quarter-century after her death. She said:

The most precious moment in human development is the young creature’s association that he is unlike any other human being, and has an individual contribution to make to the world.

We need to take a page from the philosophy of the Greeks to whom the world of fact was also the world of the ideal.

Nothing could be worse than the fear that one had given up too soon and had left one effort unexpended which might have helped the world.

After World War II the Illinois State Historical Society resumed its program of marking historic sites in Illinois. One of the first selected was the birthplace of Jane Addams. Here is the inscription on the metal plaque which stands on the west side of State Highway 26 just north of the village:

CEDARVILLE

BIRTHPLACE OF JANE ADDAMS

1860 - 1935

Humanitarian, Feminist,/ Social Worker, Reformer,/ Educator, Author, Publicist./ Founder of Hull House, Pioneer/ Settlement Center, Chicago, 1889./ President, Women’s International/ League for Peace and Freedom./ Nobel Peace Prize, 1931./ Erected by the Illinois State/ Historical Society, 1951.

William Jennings Bryan and Jane Addams, son and daughter of Illinois — in their centennial year, we can take new pride in their contributions to the American heritage.

Jane Addams vs. The Ward Boss

Dr. Allen F. Davis — a graduate of Dartmouth, the University of Rochester and the University of Wisconsin — is a student of American social and intellectual history. His article on Jane Addams is drawn from the book he is writing on the impact of settlement workers on social and political reform in the Progressive Era. He is also engaged in research for a biography of Jane Addams. Formerly at Wayne State University, Detroit, he is now assistant professor of history at the University of Missouri.

JANE ADDAMS, unfortunately, is often remembered only as a kindly social worker or a gentle pacifist. But her personality had many facets; she was at once an idealist who sincerely believed she could help solve the problems of urban, industrial America by going to live in the slums, and a realist who was always acutely aware of what was reasonably possible. It is true that she was a pacifist, and she radiated a kind of gentleness that made many people think of her as a saint. She was, in addition, a scholar and, in a sense, a philosopher, but she was most of all a fighter and a reformer.¹

In 1889 Jane Addams, along with Ellen Gates Starr, a Rockford College classmate, founded Hull House on the west side of Chicago, in the middle of a dreary urban wilderness. From the very beginning she believed that Hull House would become an instrument for social, educational, humani-

1. The better of two biographies of Jane Addams is by her nephew, James Weber Linn, *Jane Addams: A Biography* (New York, 1935). The best short article is by Albert J. Kennedy in *Supplement One, Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1944).

tarian and civic reform, and part of the broader movement for social justice in America.² Jane Addams thought of herself not as a social worker but as a reformer, and she was not above getting involved in city politics. In fact, since Hull House was located in the Nineteenth Ward, involvement in politics was inevitable for anyone interested in reform.

In the 1890's the Nineteenth Ward contained about fifty thousand people of twenty different nationalities, all jammed into a few square miles of flimsy, depressing tenement houses. It was a shifting, restless mass of people; the Irish still dominated the community and held much of the political power, but they were outnumbered by more recent arrivals, the Italians, Bohemians and Polish and Russian Jews.³ The newer residents had little experience with American customs or American politics. As one reporter commented, they were "capable of being herded and driven by any one . . . strong enough to wield the rod."⁴

In the 1890's, Johnny Powers did most of the herding and driving in the Nineteenth Ward. A short, stocky Irishman with a smooth-shaven face and flowing gray hair, Powers was fifty years old in 1896.⁵ He had been an alderman since 1888, but he was more than just an ordinary alderman — he was one of the most powerful men in Chicago. In 1898 he was chairman of the finance committee of the Chicago City Council and boss of the caucus that distributed the chairman-

2. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York, 1910), 125-26; Jane Addams, "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement," *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (New York, 1893), 33.

3. *Hull-House Maps and Papers* . . . (New York, 1895), 15-19; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1898.

4. Ray Stannard Baker, "Hull House and the Ward Boss," *Outlook*, LVIII (March 26, 1898): 770.

5. *Ibid.*, 769; *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1896.



Jane Addams surrounded by a group of her Hull House friends.

ships of the other committees.⁶ He was also chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee, and he had personally been responsible for giving away millions of dollars of street railway franchises to Charles T. Yerkes and his associates. In partnership with his political henchman William J. O'Brien, Powers owned several saloons, one of them conveniently located near City Hall. Although his salary as alderman was only three dollars a meeting, he managed to live comfortably in one of the largest houses in the ward, and

6. Florence Kelley, "Hull House," *New England Magazine*, XVIII (June, 1898): 565.

was reportedly worth \$400,000 in 1896.⁷ "He is cool-headed, cunning, and wholly unscrupulous," one reporter decided. "He is the feudal lord who governs his retainers with open-handed liberality or crushes them to poverty as it suits his nearest purpose."⁸

It did not take Jane Addams long to learn that Powers controlled the Nineteenth Ward, but it took her several years and three political campaigns to appreciate the extent of that control. When she arrived at Hull House, she noticed that a large portion of the men in the neighborhood were streetcar employees and the girls telephone operators, but it was some time before she realized that Johnny Powers was responsible for their employment.⁹ As Jane Addams began to translate the purpose of Hull House into action, by trying to improve conditions in the ward, she found herself either checkmated or controlled at almost every turn.¹⁰ Powers did acquiesce in Hull House schemes for a park and a public bath, but when it came to a new public school, he was not so co-operative.¹¹

An investigation by one of the settlement workers showed that there were over three thousand more pupils in the ward than there were seats in the school. With these statistics, and a petition signed by many of the residents of the ward, Jane Addams put the case for a new school before the Chicago School Board. The board approved her request, but Powers stepped in to alter the decision. With the help of

7. *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1896; Baker, "Hull House and the Ward Boss," 769-70.

8. *Ibid.*, 769.

9. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 315-16.

10. The purpose of Hull House, as stated in its charter, was "to provide a center for a higher civic and social life; to initiate and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago." *Hull-House Bulletin*, Jan., 1896, p. 1.

11. Kelley, "Hull House," 554-55.

O'Brien, who just happened to be the chairman of the City Council Committee on Education, Jane Addams' plan was quietly pigeonholed.¹² Powers wanted a new parochial school for the ward and feared his chances of promoting it would be hurt by a new public school.

A more immediate problem than the inadequate schools was that of the ward's dirty streets, which constituted a serious health hazard. Slaughterhouses and bakeries, fish peddlers and livery stables, as well as ordinary citizens, dumped their refuse into streets and alleys that were already clogged with dirt. At first Jane Addams thought that a lack of understanding about the spread of disease, and a lack of pride in the neighborhood, caused the filthy conditions, so she launched a campaign of education. It soon became apparent, however, that the real reason for the condition of the streets was the haphazard garbage collection. Settlement workers reported thousands of violations of the law to the Health Department, but nothing was done about them, and the death rate in the Nineteenth Ward remained one of the highest in the city.¹³ Suspecting that Alderman Powers was somehow responsible for this situation too, Jane Addams gave Edward Burchard, the first male resident of Hull House, the task of investigating the garbage collection system. Her suspicions were confirmed. Burchard discovered that Powers used the position of garbage collector as a political plum, handing it out to a local henchman who collected the money but little of the garbage.¹⁴

12. Baker, "Hull House and the Ward Boss," 770; Florence Kelley to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Sept. 26, 1898, Lloyd MSS, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

13. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 281-85.

14. Jane Addams to Mary Smith, Feb. 24, 1895, Addams MSS, The Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.; Kelley, "Hull House," 556; Addams, *Twenty Years*, 284-85.

To Jane Addams there was only one solution. Surprising even her closest friends, she submitted a bid for the collection of garbage in the ward. Her bid was finally rejected on a technicality, but the publicity it received brought about her appointment as inspector for the Nineteenth Ward.¹⁵ She took the position seriously. Her first move was to appoint Amanda Johnson, a young graduate of the University of Wisconsin, as her deputy, and together they launched an attack on the filth and the garbage in the ward. They were up at six in the morning to follow the garbage wagons to the dump, but they spent much of their time keeping charts and graphs and complaining to City Hall, arresting landlords and arguing with the contractor.¹⁶ "The ward is really cleaner," Jane Addams reported in August, 1895, but her fight against filth had convinced her that, if the area was to be kept permanently clean, Johnny Powers would have to be beaten.¹⁷

The campaign against Powers began with the Hull House Men's Club, which was composed of the young men in the neighborhood and the male settlement workers. Although the club held lectures and discussions on various topics, most of the members were interested primarily in politics. With Jane Addams' encouragement the group nominated one of its own members, Frank Lawler, as an independent candidate to oppose a Powers man for alderman in the spring of 1895.¹⁸

15. Addams to Mary Smith, Feb. 24, 1895, Addams MSS; Addams, *Twenty Years*, 285; *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1895.

16. "The Business Government of Cities," *Outlook*, LII (Aug. 17, 1895): 270; Addams to Mary Smith, Aug. 8, 1895, Addams MSS.

17. *Ibid.*

18. In Chicago each ward elected two aldermen for terms of two years, but only one alderman was elected each year; Powers had been re-elected in 1894. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 315-16; *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1895.

Powers was more amused than concerned by the settlement's "Sunday School" attempt to enter ward politics, but with the help of the Men's Club and the settlement workers Lawler was elected.¹⁹ The victory was short-lived, however, for the new alderman was unable to resist the attractive inducements put before him by his colleague from the Nineteenth Ward. Within a matter of months, Frank Lawler, the Hull House reform alderman, was Johnny Powers' most loyal supporter.²⁰ Encouraged nevertheless by the "success" at the polls in 1895, Jane Addams decided to attack Powers himself when he came up for re-election in 1896. In opening the attack on Powers, she was thinking beyond the situation in her own ward. "I really believe," she wrote to a friend, "that if we could get an investigation in the 19th ward against our . . . alderman it might extend to the whole city."²¹

It was not easy to find a candidate willing to oppose Powers. After a long search, however, the Hull House reformers settled upon William Gleeson, a 42-year-old Irish immigrant, who was a member of the Hull House Men's Club and a former president of the Chicago Bricklayers' Union.²² Miss Addams was able to persuade Hazen Pingree, the reform mayor of Detroit, to come to Chicago to open the campaign, despite the fact that Pingree was skeptical of the wisdom of trying to unseat a man like Powers. He felt that municipal reform must start first in the "good" wards — the respectable areas of the city — and then spread

19. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 315. Lawler, Independent, polled 3,044 votes to 2,842 for the Democratic candidate, 1,974 for the Republican candidate and 319 for the People's Party candidate. In the same election the Nineteenth Ward gave 4,395 votes to the Democratic candidate for mayor and 3,937 to the Republican candidate. *Chicago Tribune*, April 6, 1895.

20. Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York, 1902), 247-48; Linn, *Jane Addams*, 170-71.

21. Addams to Lloyd, Dec. 22, 1895, Lloyd MSS.

22. *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1896.

gradually to sections like the Nineteenth. Jane Addams argued that in Chicago, at least, it was difficult to separate the good wards from the bad and that a man like Johnny Powers had influence throughout the city.²³

As the campaign progressed, the settlement workers attacked Powers as a tool of the trusts and the street railway magnates. They charged that he had robbed the people of the Nineteenth Ward and deprived them of clean streets and adequate schools while amassing a personal fortune. They saturated the ward with posters and placards denouncing "Yerkes and Powers, the Briber and the Bribed."²⁴ They bombarded the citizens with handbills listing the grievances suffered under Powers' rule: "incomparably filthy, ill-paved, and snow laden streets, high rates, low services, double fares . . . scant public school accommodations, lack of small parks and playgrounds, rapidly increasing tenements . . . taxation that favors the corrupt and oppresses the honest." The Hull House reformers, led by Jane Addams, promised relief from corruption and a cleaner, more healthy ward.²⁵

Miss Addams used her wide contacts throughout the city to bring outside speakers to the ward. George E. Cole, president of the newly organized Municipal Voters' League, spoke before a rally in the Hull House gymnasium and assured the crowd that they had the support of the League in their attempt to defeat Powers. Judge Murray F. Tuley addressed a large mass meeting at Central Music Hall and chastised the citizens of the Nineteenth Ward for not having enough civic pride "to overthrow this prince of the boodlers."²⁶

23. Addams to Lloyd, Dec. 22, 1895, Lloyd MSS; Addams, *Twenty Years*, 322.

24. Addams to Lloyd, Dec. 22, 1895, Lloyd MSS.

25. *Hull-House Bulletin*, March, 1896, pp. 4-5.

26. *Ibid.*, 4; *Chicago Tribune*, March 25, 1896. Jane Addams had helped to organize the Municipal Voters' League in 1896. The league tried to select

But Jane Addams received little except sympathy and good wishes from most of the "better element" in Chicago, and the reform movement went down to defeat. Yet Gleeson did reduce Powers' usual majority. More important, the campaign provided Jane Addams with an education in the realities of ward politics.²⁷

She learned, for example, that her crusade for better streets had antagonized the property owners in the ward, since the streets could not be repaved without a special tax assessment.²⁸ She learned also that it had been unwise to attempt to appeal to the workers by nominating a workingman to oppose Powers. One of the campaign posters showed Gleeson in working clothes, eating from a dinner pail, while Powers, in sharp contrast, was in a dinner jacket drinking champagne. "To the chagrin of the reformers," Jane Addams later noted, ". . . it was gradually discovered that in the popular mind, a man who laid bricks and wore overalls was not nearly so desirable for an alderman as the man who drank champagne and wore a diamond in his shirt front. The district wished its representative to stand up to the best of them."²⁹ By the same token, the widely circulated rumor that Powers had received the sum of \$50,000 from Charles Yerkes for campaign expenses seemed to help Powers more than it hurt him, for Yerkes had recently given a large sum to an educational institution and was, therefore, in the eyes

and support good candidates for alderman in all the wards. See Hoyt King, "The Reform Movement in Chicago," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XXV (March, 1905): 235-47, and Sidney I. Roberts, "The Municipal Voters' League and Chicago's Boodlers," in the Summer, 1960, issue of this *Journal*.

27. Kelley, "Hull House," 565. Powers' majority was cut from 2,700 in 1894 to 1,100 in 1896.

28. Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 249.

29. *Ibid.*, 257. See *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1896, for a reproduction of the campaign poster.

of the average voter of the Nineteenth Ward, an upright and philanthropic citizen.

In contrast, the professors and reformers who streamed into the ward from other sections of the city to talk about corruption and the sale of franchises appeared more like cranks than like the successful businessmen the average voter admired.³⁰

Jane Addams and the other settlement workers also got an object lesson in how a successful ward boss operates to win votes. Since Powers still considered the Hull House reform movement more of a joke than a threat, he resorted to no unusual practices in 1896; but for him, winning votes was a year-round job. He was always on hand when needed. When a death occurred in the neighborhood, Powers provided a stylish burial; he had a standing account at the undertaker's. When a man lost his job, Powers provided him with work; he boasted that twenty-six hundred residents of the Nineteenth Ward were on the city's payroll. When a citizen from the ward got into trouble, Powers would bail him out of jail and fix things with the judge. When a resident of the ward needed to travel out of the city, Powers would get him a pass on the railroad. At Christmas time the loyal voter could expect a turkey from the benevolent alderman. To her surprise, Jane Addams discovered soon after the election that many of the people in the ward who had supported the Hull House candidate expected her to continue to act like a ward boss. She was besieged with requests for aid, for help in bailing a son out of jail or for helping a husband get a job. Although she could challenge Johnny Powers at election time, she could not begin to com-

30. Addams, "Ethical Survivals," *International Journal of Ethics*, VIII (April, 1898): 289. See also Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 262-63.

pete with the benevolent ward boss when it came to passing out favors.³¹

Despite Miss Addams' attempts to attack Powers as a corrupt man who robbed the city treasury, took bribes from the street railway magnates and lined his own coffers while giving the Nineteenth Ward little in return, she could not destroy the image of Powers as a good friend and neighbor who could be depended upon in time of trouble. Even before the election, she hit upon the secret of Johnny Powers' success as a ward politician. "He isn't elected because he is dishonest," she decided. "He is elected because he is a friendly visitor."³²

It was only after the election of 1896, however, that she began to realize how persuasive and skillful Powers was. In the two years following the election nearly every man who had been prominent in the campaign against Powers received an office or a job from the re-elected alderman. Most of these men were members of the Hull House Men's Club. A printer who had played an important role in the reform campaign was appointed to a clerkship at City Hall. A driver was given a new job and a large salary at the police barns, and William Gleeson, the Hull House reform candidate, received a position in the city construction department.³³

But Jane Addams was still not convinced that Powers was unbeatable. She pondered her mistakes, added up the lessons she had learned and vowed she would defeat Powers in 1898. She was encouraged by the passage of a new civil service law and by the election of a reform alderman in the Seventeenth Ward. Reform seemed to be in the air in

31. Addams, "Ethical Survivals," 276-82.

32. *Chicago Evening Post*, Feb. 19, 1896, clipping in Addams MSS.

33. Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 243-48.

Chicago, and reform was badly needed in the Nineteenth Ward.³⁴

Powers himself provided a fresh incentive for the reform movement of 1898. Although he was still involved with giving away streetcar franchises and was constantly in the news because of illegal gambling in his saloons, it was his attack on settlement worker Amanda Johnson that determined the Hull House residents on their new campaign. Miss Johnson had been Jane Addams' deputy garbage inspector for the Nineteenth Ward, and in 1896 when the position of garbage inspector became a civil service job, she took the examination and passed at the top of the list. It appeared that Johnny Powers had permanently lost a job for one of his heelers. Early in January, 1898, however, Powers demanded that the Civil Service Commission discharge Miss Johnson from her post because she had been actively campaigning against him and finding fault with his record as alderman.³⁵ The newspapers as well as the commission found Miss Johnson innocent, but Powers, as chairman of the finance committee of the City Council, decided that it was necessary to cut expenses. By merging the Bureau of Street and Alley Cleaning with the Department of Streets, he deprived Amanda Johnson of her job.³⁶

Over four hundred people meeting in the Hull House gymnasium "sizzled and boiled" with indignation over Powers' attack on Miss Johnson, and one of the speakers called

34. Baker, "Hull House and the Ward Boss," 770-71; "Work of the Commons," *Commons*, II (Dec., 1897): 6; *Chicago Times-Herald*, April 14, 1897. Another settlement, Chicago Commons, was responsible for the election of James Walsh, a reform alderman, in the Seventeenth Ward, in April, 1897.

35. Kelley, "Hull House," 556.

36. Baker, "Hull House and the Ward Boss," 770; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1898.

him a disgrace to Ireland and the Catholic religion. At another meeting a few days later, Professor William Hill of the University of Chicago (who had earlier moved to the settlement house in order that he might vote in the Nineteenth Ward) was made chairman of a campaign committee that prepared once again to do battle with Johnny Powers.³⁷

Jane Addams officially opened the campaign against Powers with a remarkable address to the Chicago Ethical Culture Society on Sunday, January 23, 1898.³⁸ The speech, which received nationwide publicity, was at once an attack on Powers and his methods (although his name was never mentioned) and a shrewd analysis of the forces and motives involved in city politics at the ward level.³⁹ It was one of the first attempts to analyze in any detail the methods and motives of a city boss. "There has been no more important contribution to the literature of municipal government, and the study of its problems," one editor decided; and Robert Woods, the head resident at South End House in Boston, wrote Miss Addams, "I think it is the best thing you have ever done with the pen."⁴⁰

The address was based on the experiences of two cam-

37. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 23, Jan. 24, 1898.

38. William Salter to Jane Addams, Addams MSS. Jane Addams had given the same address a few days before at the University of Michigan. *Chicago Daily News*, Jan. 21, 1898. clipping in Addams MSS.

39. Jane Addams, "Ethical Survivals," 273-91. A large portion of the address was printed in *Outlook*, LVIII (April 2, 1898): 879-82, under the title, "Why the Ward Boss Rules," and much of the same material was later incorporated in a chapter on "Political Reform," in Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*. The address was favorably reported in such papers as the *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1898; *Cincinnati Journal Messenger*, April 21, 1898; *Chicago Daily News*, Jan. 24, 1898; *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, Jan. 26, 1898; *Toledo Blade*, April 25, 1898; *Richmond Times*, April 29, 1898; *Kansas City Journal*, April 28, 1898; clippings in Addams MSS.

40. "The Alderman's Pull," *Commons*, II (March, 1898): 6; Robert Woods to Jane Addams, April 28, 1898, Addams MSS, Hull House (since incorporated with the Addams MSS, The Peace Collection, Swarthmore College).

paings and on eight years of observation in the Nineteenth Ward. "The successful candidate must be a good man according to the standards of his constituents," she emphasized. "He must not attempt to hold up a morality beyond them, nor must he attempt to reform or change the standard. His safety lies in doing, on a large scale, the good deeds which his constituents are able to do only on a small scale." She showed, through concrete illustrations from her observation of Powers, how a boss was able to remain in power, and she attacked the reformers for not learning from the boss. When compared to a colorful figure like Johnny Powers, she said, most reformers seemed drab indeed. "The reformers give themselves over largely to criticism of the present state of affairs, to writing and talking of what the future must be," Miss Addams decided, "but their goodness is not dramatic; it is not even concrete and human."⁴¹

Even though Jane Addams could understand why a man like Powers was re-elected time after time, she could not condone his actions. She attacked him for supporting the Italian padrone in violation of the civil service law, for getting men out of prison and fixing things with the judge. These actions, she maintained, had a "blighting effect on public morals." "The positive evils of corrupt government are bound to fall heaviest upon the poorest and least capable," she concluded. Powers gave away street railway franchises, and the people in his ward had to pay increased fares. He gave them turkeys at Christmas, but he refused to give them clean streets and adequate public schools.⁴²

Johnny Powers, meanwhile, had grown annoyed with the publicity Jane Addams was giving the ward. "The trouble

41. Addams, "Ethical Survivals," 276.

42. *Ibid.*, 277-88.

with Miss Addams," he told a reporter, "is [that] she is just jealous of my charitable work in the ward."⁴³ Powers was in no mood to risk defeat in 1898; there was too much money involved. Charles Yerkes was planning to ask the City Council for an ordinance extending the street railway franchise for fifty years. By making sure that the council co-operated, Powers stood to share the gain with Yerkes, but first he must be re-elected, and Jane Addams was all that stood in his way. "Hull House will be driven from the ward, and its leaders will be forced to shut up shop," Powers predicted angrily as he opened his attack on Jane Addams and the other settlement workers.⁴⁴

Powers was not the only one to criticize Jane Addams and Hull House. A Chicago newspaper with a vested interest in the street railway franchises issued attack after attack on Hull House and its leaders.⁴⁵ Some of the Catholic priests in the Nineteenth Ward, out of jealousy and because their churches received a great deal of money from Powers, campaigned actively against Hull House, charging that the settlement was anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant.⁴⁶ Posters and placards denounced "petticoat government," and Jane Addams received letters, some of them obscene, praising "that good, noble and charitable man, Johnny Powers," and pointing out that by living in the slums and entering politics she had "long since forgot the pride and dignity so much admired in a beautiful woman."⁴⁷

Jane Addams and the other Hull House residents fought back. The problem of finding a candidate who would not

43. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1898.

44. *Hartford Times*, March 8, 1898, clipping in Addams MSS; *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1898.

45. *Chicago Chronicle*, Jan-April, 1898; Addams, *Twenty Years*, 318.

46. Jane Addams to Mary Smith, March 28, 1898, Addams MSS.

47. "A Voter" to Jane Addams, Jan. 17, 1898, Addams MSS.

sell out to Powers and at the same time would have enough appeal to make a real fight out of the election was finally solved with the selection of Simeon Armstrong. Armstrong had lived for thirty years in the ward and, like Powers, was Irish, Catholic and a member of the Democratic Party. Jane Addams helped to persuade the Republican organization in the ward to endorse Armstrong so that the opposition to Powers could be concentrated on one candidate. The Hull House Men's Club, which the settlement workers had helped to reorganize after the election of 1896, formed a Nineteenth Ward Improvement Committee, which, by 1898, had established an organization in each precinct in the ward.⁴⁸

The Hull House reformers, led by Jane Addams, printed and distributed posters, made speeches, followed up rumors of fraud and helped to co-ordinate the precinct organizations, but they were forced to spend a great deal of their time raising money. Among the most ardent campaign workers were Florence Kelley, the impatient organizer of child labor reform; Ellen Gates Starr, the co-founder of Hull House; and Alzina Stevens, who had come to the settlement movement after years in the labor movement. George Hooker, the slender scholar, with horned-rimmed glasses and graying hair, who was director of the Chicago City Club and also a resident of Hull House, supplied campaign speakers with the statistics to prove Powers' corruption.

Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, who had become a bookbinder at fourteen and was a resident at Hull House before going to Boston as a labor organizer, came back to Chicago for the campaign. Well known in the Nineteenth Ward, she proved a valuable aid in quieting some of the Catholic opposition

48. *Hull-House Bulletin*, Nov., 1897, March, 1898; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 24, Feb. 18, March 18, 1898.

to Hull House. An Italian newspaper, *La Tribuna Italiana*, crusaded against Powers, and John Harlan, "The Tiger of the Twenty-second Ward," came into the Nineteenth to answer some of the charges against Hull House. "There are signs that the Nineteenth Ward is beginning to get ashamed of Powers," Harlan announced to a packed auditorium. "The Women of Hull House . . . have no votes, but they have influence. They have helped more people than Powers, and those whom they have aided know that it has not been done for selfish motives."⁴⁹

The Hull House reformers carried on a vigorous campaign and corrected many of the mistakes they had made in 1896. Despite their efforts, however, the final results read Powers 5,450, Armstrong 2,219. Not only had the corrupt boss won; he had also wiped out the gains made by the reformers two years previously and had restored his usual margin of victory.⁵⁰

Ray Stannard Baker, the muckraking journalist who spent a few weeks at Hull House during the campaign, had seen indications that Powers would be re-elected even before the results were in. Some of the small businessmen who had come out in support of Armstrong early in the campaign began to drop away. Powers gave "a hint to a landlord here and a coal-dealer there, and they could not hope to survive if they rebelled," Baker said. A threat or a rumor that a peddler would lose his license or a city employee his job was enough to prevent many from supporting Hull House and Simeon Armstrong. The settlement workers made elaborate

49. Addams to Mary Smith, March 26, March 28, 1898, n.d. [1898], Addams MSS; Woods to Addams, April 28, 1898, Addams MSS, Hull House; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 26, 1898, March 8, 1898 (editorial quoting Harlan); "Harlan a Big Joke," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 7, 1898.

50. *Chicago Tribune*, April 6, 1898.

efforts to limit frauds in registration and voting, but, as Jane Addams remarked on the day before the election, with nearly everybody corrupt it was "hard to prove anything."⁵¹

While gloating over his victory, Johnny Powers almost paraphrased the words Jane Addams had used at the beginning of the campaign. "I may not be the sort of man the reformers like," he announced, "but I am what my people like, and neither Hull House nor all the reformers in town can turn them against me."⁵² Yet shortly after the election, the Board of Education and the City Council approved a plan to enlarge one of the public schools in the ward. Johnny Powers, who had effectively blocked such an enlargement for seven years, remained strangely silent. Perhaps Jane Addams' efforts had not been entirely in vain.⁵³

After the campaign excitement died, the inevitable question had to be answered — should the settlement workers continue to oppose the ward boss? Florence Kelley, one of the most able of the amazing group of Hull House reformers, believed that the fight should be continued. To admit defeat, to withdraw from politics, she argued, would be to accept the conventional ethics of too many organizations which preached reform in theory but failed to practice it in fact. "True to its avowed purpose 'to provide a centre for a higher civic and social life,' Hull House entered the campaigns in 1896 and 1898 to make its protest on behalf of municipal honesty," Florence Kelley maintained, "and from that task it cannot turn back."⁵⁴

Jane Addams could not agree. She had no intention of

51. Baker, "Hull House and the Ward Boss," 770; Addams to Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, April 3, 1898, Addams MSS.

52. *Chicago Tribune*, April 6, 1898.

53. Florence Kelley to Henry D. Lloyd, Sept. 26, 1898, Lloyd MSS.

54. Kelley, "Hull House," 566.

revising the original purpose of Hull House, but she was realistic enough to understand that little more could be accomplished by further attempts to unseat Powers.⁵⁵ She had learned a great deal about the realities of ward politics and more about the limitations of reform movements. She had publicized her discoveries in speeches and articles and applied them against a master politician. She had failed to defeat Powers, but that to Jane Addams was no reason to despair; it was merely the signal to alter her tactics.

If one could not defeat a corrupt ward politician like Johnny Powers at the polls, the next logical step was to bypass him and limit his power. Jane Addams' unsuccessful fight against Powers had convinced her that reform to be effective must be carried to the state and national levels. Consequently, with increasing success, she moved her field of action from the Nineteenth Ward to City Hall, Springfield and Washington. She lobbied for child labor legislation and fought for shorter hours and better working conditions for both men and women. She struggled to advance the cause of social justice in many other ways, but not until 1912 did she again take an active part in politics, and then it was to support Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party. With dedication and with a realistic understanding of the problems involved, Jane Addams made important contributions to the movement that helped alleviate some of the worst evils of industrialism in urban America.

The picture of Jane Addams as a kindly social worker and gentle pacifist should be altered to include Jane Addams the realistic reformer who battled Johnny Powers in the Nineteenth Ward, and who knew when to stop.

55. *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 19, 1900; *Chicago Chronicle*, Dec. 8, 1899; *Chicago Daily News*, Dec. 7, 1899; clippings in Addams MSS.

Bryan the Orator

Boyce House is a Fort Worth, Texas, newspaperman and free-lance writer. He is the author of seventeen books, principally about the wonders of his home state, and writes a weekly column that appears in about two hundred Texas newspapers. He has had articles published in most of the historical magazines of the south central section of the country — and by the Saturday Evening Post. He says he has made a lifelong study of oratory — twice he heard his subject, William Jennings Bryan, speak and, as a reporter, once interviewed him.

HOW GREAT an orator was William Jennings Bryan?¹

He was probably the greatest the nation has ever seen. No other ever drew such crowds. Probably no other made so many speeches. And he stirred his hearers not on one or two occasions but times almost without number.

His most famous speech was delivered in Chicago in 1896, the "Cross of Gold" oration which stampeded the convention and made him the Democratic presidential nominee at the age of thirty-six. The historian Gerald W. Johnson declared that this address established Bryan "at once as the greatest master of the platform in American politics."²

But even before that masterpiece, Bryan had gained wide recognition as a speaker of power. Early, he was called "the

1. Although he is usually thought of as a Nebraskan, William Jennings Bryan was born in Illinois and spent his first twenty-seven years in this state. In recent years this *Journal* has published two articles by Paolo E. Coletta about Bryan: "Silas Bryan of Salem," in the March, 1949, issue, and "'Won, 1880 — One, 1884,' The Courtship of William Jennings Bryan and Mary Elizabeth Baird," in the Autumn, 1957, number.

2. Gerald W. Johnson, *Incredible Tale: The Odyssey of the Average American in the Last Half Century* (New York, 1950), 14.

Boy Orator of the Platte.” As a young congressman, his first major address, on the tariff, was headlined by the *New York World*, “Bryan Downed Them All,” and the dispatch declared, “This speech has been a revolution. No new member has received such an ovation in years. Mr. Bryan’s speech was the talk of the town tonight.”³ One New York newspaper carried nine columns about the address;⁴ and acclaim was bestowed on the orator by the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe* and other journals.

Even more spectacular was his success when, the following year (1893), he spoke on bimetallism. The press reported that soon after Bryan began speaking, the empty seats in the House “became filled as if by magic; Senators came over from the other chamber until there were not half a dozen in the Senate.”⁵ Paxton Hibben, in his biography of Bryan, stated that Thomas B. Reed and Joe Cannon, Republican leaders, “rushed up to congratulate a worthy foe. Silver Dick Bland put his arm on the youngster’s shoulder, his eyes filled with tears,” and Congressman William M. Springer declared, “It was the greatest speech I ever heard in either branch of Congress. It will take rank with the speeches of Clay or Webster or Wendell Phillips.”⁶ Harry Thurston Peck described the address as “perhaps the most forcefully persuasive exposition of the argument for silver that has ever been presented before a deliberative body.”⁷ Wayne C. Williams wrote that the speech aroused so much excitement

3. Paxton Hibben, *The Peerless Leader: William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1929), 139.

4. Wayne Cullen Williams, *Williams Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1936), 80.

5. Hibben, *Peerless Leader*, 153.

6. *Ibid.*, 154.

7. Harry Thurston Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic, 1885-1905* (New York, 1906), 343.



William Jennings Bryan, as he appeared in 1896, when he was called "The Silver Knight of the West."

that the House could scarcely transact any business during the remainder of the day.⁸

One hundred thousand copies of the tariff speech were distributed and an even larger number of the speech on silver. In these and other addresses in Congress the young Nebraskan proved his power as an orator and demonstrated his ability to hold his own in the running-fire exchanges with colleagues who broke in with cleverly worded questions.

But it was his Chicago convention speech which first won him universal acclaim. Josephus Daniels said that this oration caused such master speakers as Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia and Senator J. C. S. Blackburn of Kentucky to liken Bryan to Demosthenes.⁹ Speaking on behalf of free silver, Bryan declared, "We do not come as aggressors. Our

8. Williams, *Bryan*, 98.

9. Charles McDaniel Rosser, *The Crusading Commoner: A Close-up of William Jennings Bryan and His Times* (Dallas, 1937), from foreword by Josephus Daniels, x.

war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more.”¹⁰

At these words, Peck wrote, “The great hall seemed to rock and sway with the fierce energy of the shout that ascended from twenty thousand throats.” When the cheering had subsided, Bryan thundered, “We defy them!” and there was another tremendous roar. From that moment on, Peck said, “The leaderless Democracy of the West was leaderless no more.” During the remainder of his address every sentence was followed by “a crash of applause.” Bryan closed with, “We will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”¹¹

The demonstration defied description. Men paraded down the aisles, chanting “Bryan! Bryan! Bryan!” Others shouted over and over, “No crown of thorns; no cross of gold!” Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois, himself an able speaker, turned to a friend and said, “I had rather be able to make a speech like that than be president of the United States.”¹²

There are those, however, who heard Bryan at the 1896 convention in Chicago and at the 1904 convention in St. Louis who said that he was even greater on the latter occa-

10. *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan*, revised and arranged by himself (New York and London, 1911), I: 241.

11. Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 500; Bryan, *Speeches*, I: 249.

12. Harry Barnard, “Eagle Forgotten”: *The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (Indianapolis, 1938), 370.

sion. Certainly the circumstances made the St. Louis speeches (for there were two) much more difficult. In 1896 Bryan had been the voice of a triumphant majority who had been awaiting someone to put their sentiments into words. But at St. Louis he was speaking the views of a minority; he was fighting a lost cause and he realized it.

After the defeats of 1896 and 1900 with Bryan as the nominee, most of the party leaders decided that an easterner and a conservative should be chosen, and so Bryan knew at St. Louis that he was facing a convention which had steeled its heart against him. Nevertheless, he stirred them, friend and foe alike. "Eight years ago," Bryan declared, "a Democratic national convention placed in my hand the standard of the party and commissioned me as its candidate. Four years later that commission was renewed. I come tonight to this Democratic national convention to return the commission. You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you can not deny that I have kept the faith."¹³

The Pennsylvania "boss," Jim Guffey, was waiting to throw the votes of his state against Bryan; nevertheless, as the Nebraskan reached the climax, tears came into the eyes of that man of iron. A newspaperman who had heard Bryan many times before and would hear him many times afterward, was standing near Guffey, and this observer recorded, "I believe that momentary display of emotion on the part of one of his enemies was the greatest oratorical triumph I ever saw Bryan achieve."¹⁴

The speech was all the more remarkable from the fact

13. Bryan, *Speeches*, II: 50.

14. Charles Willis Thompson, *Presidents I've Known and Two Near Presidents* (Indianapolis, 1929), 59-60; quoted by special permission of the publishers, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.

that it was given late at night when delegates and spectators were weary; further, Bryan had been up all that night and the night before, attending sessions of the resolutions committee and the convention itself, and had slept only a few hours for several preceding nights!

At the close of his address, therefore, he left for his hotel to obtain badly needed rest. After the delegates had chosen Judge Alton B. Parker, a New York conservative, as the nominee, Parker sent a telegram saying that he would run only on the gold standard, in effect repudiating the silver views advocated by Bryan in the two preceding campaigns. Meanwhile Bryan had become seriously ill. He was suffering from a bad cold and was threatened with pneumonia. His physician prescribed absolute rest. But Bryan had learned of the Parker telegram and, taking advantage of his physician's absence, returned to the convention.

As he came down the aisle, his face was pale; his dark eyes, sunk in his head, seemed to glitter with feverish fire; and there was perspiration on his forehead. When he reached the platform, two Parker leaders tried to force him into a seat, but he would not be deterred from attempting to speak; as he passed the Parker men, one dug his elbow into the sick man's ribs.

It was again a late hour; in fact, dawn was just breaking; and delegates and spectators were, if anything, even wearier than they had been at the session he had previously addressed with such moving fervor. Thompson tells us that Bryan spoke with difficulty, yet his voice rang through the hall, which seated twelve thousand, and "his white-hot passion, as he pleaded with the delegates to stand by their convictions and not to bow to 'this god of gold,' so wrought upon his hearers that even those most resolved to defeat

him were deeply moved. . . . In this night of defeat Bryan the orator was greater, to my eyes, than he ever was in his moments of triumph."¹⁵

Martin Littleton, brilliant New York attorney and congressman who had made the speech nominating Parker, could scarcely be considered biased in Bryan's favor, yet he said of the oration, "The most eloquent address I ever heard." August Belmont, New York financier, long the foe of Bryan, was — with former Senator David B. Hill of New York — in control of the convention. At the close of the speech, Belmont exclaimed, "My God! I can now understand the power of the man!"¹⁶

Attending as a newspaper correspondent was a man who, immediately after Bryan's death, penned a scathing summary of the Great Commoner — a summary concerning which, however, he later wrote, "In the years since, I have come to wonder if that was really just." Certainly the iconoclastic and world-weary H. L. Mencken is the last man who would be accused of partiality toward politics and oratory in general or Bryan in particular; and here are Mencken's impressions of the first St. Louis address, the "Kept-the-Faith" speech, as set down in calm reflection nearly forty years afterward:

On a hot, humid night, with the hall packed, he elbowed his way to the platform to deliver what he and everyone else thought would be his valedictory. . . . [He announced] that he had come down with laryngitis and could scarcely speak, and as he began . . . in a ghostly whisper . . . the gallery . . . in a minute was howling to him to speak louder, and he was going through the motion of trying to do so. In his frayed alpaca coat and baggy pants he was a pathetic figure, and that, precisely, is what he wanted to appear.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Rosser, *Crusading Commoner*, 108.

But galleries are always brutal, and this one was worse than most. It kept on howling, and in a little while the proceedings had to be suspended while the sergeants-at-arms tried to restore order. . . .

The uproar had nettled him . . . and when he uttered his first words it was plain that either his indignation had cured his laryngitis or he had forgotten it. His magnificent baritone voice rolled out clearly and sonorously, and in two minutes he had stilled the hostility of the crowd. . . . There were hundreds of politicians present who had heard his Cross of Gold speech in Chicago in 1896, and they were still more or less under its enchantment, but nine-tenths of them were saying the next day that this St. Louis speech was even more eloquent, even more gaudy, even more overpowering. Certainly I listened to it myself with my ears wide open, my eyes apop and my reportorial pencil palsied. It swept up on wave after wave of sound like the *finale* of the first movement of Beethoven's *Eroica*, and finally burst into such coruscations that the crowd first gasped and then screamed. . . .

That was long, long ago, in a hot and boozy town . . . but I remember it as clearly as if it were last night. What a speech, my masters! What a speech! Like all really great art, it was fundamentally simple. . . . But how apt, how fit and meet, how tremendously effective! If the galleries had been free to vote, Bryan would have been nominated on the spot.¹⁷

Still others think, however, that Baltimore in 1912 — and not Chicago in 1896 or St. Louis in 1904 — was Bryan's greatest triumph. That opinion is shared by this chronicler. It was at the Baltimore convention that Bryan, evolving his own strategy and carrying it out himself, took on Tammany Hall, August Belmont, J. P. Morgan, Thomas Fortune Ryan and Wall Street and, singlehanded, defeated them all. He made three masterly speeches.

The first was delivered in opposition to Alton B. Parker, who had been recommended by the national committee for the temporary chairmanship of the convention. Bryan

17. H. L. Mencken, *Heathen Days, 1890-1936* (New York, 1943), 282-84, quoted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, publisher.

declared that he opposed, as keynoter, a man who would paralyze the convention with a reactionary speech. Bryan's sentences were less rhetorical and the words were simpler than in his younger days — but no less moving:

This is no ordinary occasion. This is an epoch-making Convention. We have had such a struggle as was never seen in politics before. I have been in the center of this fight, and I know something of the courage that it has brought forth, and something of the sacrifice that has been required. I know that men working upon the railroad for small wages, with but little laid up for their retiring years, have defied the railroad managers and helped us in this progressive fight at the risk of having their bread and butter taken from them. I have known men engaged in business and carrying loans at banks who have been threatened with bankruptcy if they did not sell their citizenship, and yet I have seen them, defying these men, walk up and vote on the side of the struggling masses against predatory wealth. I have seen lawyers risking their future, alienating men of large business, in order to be the champions of the poor. . . . It seems to me that now, when the hour of triumph comes, the song of victory should be sung by one whose heart has been in the fight.¹⁸

But the Parker movement had been well organized. Delegates supporting the conservatives Oscar W. Underwood and Judson Harmon for the presidential nomination voted for the New Yorker; and he was supported also by most of the leaders for Champ Clark, who had about 40 per cent of the convention backing him. After Parker's victory, George Fred Williams of Massachusetts, one of Clark's chief supporters, exuberantly declared to another Clark leader, Arthur F. Mullen of Nebraska, "That settles the Boy Orator of the Platte."¹⁹ And so thought many more. But Bryan had lost only a battle, not the war.

18. *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, by himself and his wife, Mary Baird Bryan (Philadelphia, 1925), 518-19.

19. Arthur F. Mullen, *Western Democrat* (New York, 1940), 169.

An avalanche of telegrams descended upon Baltimore. Nothing like it had ever been seen. The Great Commoner himself received 1,128 messages, signed by 31,331 persons. The total number of telegrams was estimated at 110,000, an average of one hundred for each delegate, with many of the messages bearing the names of a score or more; and the expressions were almost unanimous in support of Bryan.

His second speech was delivered in spite of the most violent outburst of rage and hatred that a speaker ever confronted at a national convention. "He ought to be hanged!" delegates shouted and one called out, "I'll give \$25,000 to any man who will assassinate him!" Bryan introduced a resolution declaring that no man should be nominated who was under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Ryan, Belmont "or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class." He forced a hostile majority to accept his resolution; it passed by a vote of four and one-half to one!²⁰

It is related that, soon after, a New York delegate rushed into Charles Murphy's headquarters and exclaimed, "This man Bryan is just raising h____. . . . He must be answered." Murphy replied dryly, "All right, you answer him."²¹

The outset of Bryan's third speech was greeted with a tumult of animosity almost as great as the opening of his second one. He arose to explain why he was switching his vote from Champ Clark to Woodrow Wilson. When at last the disorder subsided, the speaker declared his opposition to the nomination of any man whose selection was made possible by the support of the Tammany-controlled New York delegation. This group, its ninety votes cast as a unit by Murphy, had switched to Clark, giving him a majority.

20. Williams, *Bryan*, 327-28.

21. *Ibid.*

Two-thirds, however, was necessary, and Bryan's speech served as a bugle call; the Wilson forces stood firm, and eventually the New Jersey governor was nominated. Clark went down in history as the only Democrat, except Van Buren in 1844, to be denied the nomination after gaining a majority.²² Thompson wrote:

It was a wonderful thing to see Bryan in a fight, especially at a national Convention. Did you want drama? There it was. I don't mean melodrama, or theatricality. I mean drama, the fight of a cavalier against threatening hosts. To see him at such a moment was to see Bussy d'Amboise overcoming wave after wave of the Prince's assassins; it was to see the giant Porthos, singlehanded, tearing up boulders and flinging them at the King's army; it was to see the Three Musketeers holding the Rochelle infantry at bay from their bastion. As the angry battalions fell upon him, to be tossed back with a flick of his wrist and a dart of his rapier, one seemed to see a poem translated into action. I have seen many a dramatic political fight, but never anything that remotely resembled one of Bryan's.²³

This lyrical passage was not dashed off immediately after the event, when the reporter's mind was still aglow and there was a deadline to meet, but was set down long after the Baltimore convention by a correspondent who was a veteran of the political wars and was now writing his memoirs.

Josephus Daniels said, "Bryan was par excellence 'the Master of Assemblies.'"²⁴ John Temple Graves, the brilliant Georgia editor, declared, "Put one thousand men on a convention floor and give that wonderful man Bryan a chance at them and he can do anything with them."²⁵

Bryan also was a great lecturer on religious and inspira-

22. Arthur S. Link, *Wilson*, Vol. I: *The Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), 429-30.

23. Thompson, *Presidents I've Known*, 56.

24. Rosser, *Crusading Commoner*, x.

25. Williams, *Bryan*, 268.

tional themes. For years he was the foremost speaker of Chautauqua, that uniquely American institution which brought enlightenment, entertainment and inspiration to hundreds of the smaller cities and towns throughout the nation. Bryan thrilled countless summer audiences with his lectures. From the most famous, "The Prince of Peace," this is a representative passage:

To every created thing, God has given a tongue that proclaims a future life.

If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will He leave neglected in the earth the soul of man, made in the image of his Creator? If He stoops to give to the rose bush, whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze, the sweet assurance of another springtime, will He refuse the words of hope to the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If matter, mute and inanimate, tho changed by the forces of nature into a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial spirit of man suffer annihilation after it has paid a brief visit like a royal guest to this tenement of clay? No, I am as sure that we live again as I am sure that we live to-day.²⁶

Besides being a superb parliamentary orator and a master before national political conventions, Bryan was unequaled as a campaign speaker. He could address thirty thousand people in the open air, with every word heard at the very edge of the throng (microphones and amplifiers had not yet been invented; in fact, their first use was around 1920).

In 1896, as the Democratic nominee for president, in a little over three months he traveled eighteen thousand miles by rail and spoke approximately five hundred times. In one day, he addressed nineteen audiences. In that campaign he spoke to an estimated five million people. No man in all the history of the world had ever addressed so many in

26. Bryan, *Speeches*, II:283

a like space of time. These speeches were, of course, face-to-face, as radio and television were only dreams in the brains of scientists. In 1900, again the Democratic candidate, he addressed huge crowds; and in 1908, when he was the nominee for the third time, he set a record by speaking to thirty-six audiences in twenty-four hours.

From this it can be seen that Bryan's physical powers were most remarkable. After making a speech from the rear platform, he could sit down and immediately fall asleep. Awakened as the next stop was near, he was at once alert; and, after that speech, he would take another nap. His Nebraska campaign manager in 1908 relates that in a swing by rail across that state, Bryan would lie down after a speech and fall asleep; to awaken him for the next crowd, an associate would dash cold water in his face. "I have never seen," the campaign manager relates, "such magnificent physical endurance, never heard so tireless a voice."²⁷ And at that time, Bryan had behind him two speaking campaigns no one has ever rivaled for strenuousness, and was almost through a third such killing campaign; further, he was forty-eight years old.

He was just as tireless (and perhaps even more effective) when he was campaigning on behalf of others. Claude G. Bowers, biographer of Albert J. Beveridge, said that, after the Baltimore convention, "Bryan, never more than at this period the idol of the Indiana Democrats, was making another of his triumphant tours through the State, speaking from nine in the morning until midnight."²⁸ Next to Wilson himself, Bryan carried the chief load of Democratic campaigning in 1912; and in 1916, without Bryan's nearly five

27. Mullen, *Western Democrat*, 132.

28. Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Cambridge, 1932), 433.

hundred speeches, chiefly in the Midwest, Wilson would have lost to Charles E. Hughes in a contest so close that the outcome was in doubt for several days.

What were the secrets of Bryan's wizardry?

He had a voice, at once sonorous and melodious, the finest of any orator this nation has known. The Kansas editor William Allen White said that it was "a high baritone; soft, but never quite husky, silvern rather than golden, penetrating but never sharp."²⁹ Next, Bryan had an impressive appearance. In his younger days, he was likened to a Greek statue; in his middle years, he was handsome, lion-like. But voice and presence were not sufficient in themselves.

He possessed a sense of the dramatic and would doubtless have been a great actor. In fact, his cynical foe Mark Hanna (whose widely condemned campaign methods, as McKinley's manager, defeated Bryan in 1896) declared, after the Nebraskan had addressed a Senate committee, that he would like to see Bryan play Hamlet.³⁰ He had fervor; he could have been a great evangelist. Had he concentrated on his law career, he would have been a master advocate before a jury. But besides fervor, he conveyed the impression of calm strength, of forces in reserve, of being in control of the situation at all times. He had an expressive face, a countenance, moreover, which was friendly and which at times lighted up with a winning smile before an audience.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of Bryan's sincerity. He was devoted to the causes he pleaded, and he urged them with the zeal of a Crusader. His religious nature provided a foundation without which his oratory would have lacked the power to move men. His hearers

29. William Allen White, *Masks in a Pageant* (New York, 1928), 249.

30. Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York, 1929), 212.



This caricature of William Jennings Bryan is from a Democratic convention supplement to Harper's Weekly for July 16, 1904. The drawing appeared originally in the Philadelphia North American.

looked upon him as more than a statesman; he was the champion of their rights; he was their prophet.

Bryan truly liked people. "One of the great troubadours," he was called by Edward G. Lowry, who declared, "He likes it all: the early rising, the crowded days, the bands, the turmoil, the shouting and applause."³¹ Theodore Roosevelt was a real troubadour, too, but Bryan was "the best of them all," said Lowry, a newspaperman who accompanied him in 1912 and later.

Bryan met people readily, modestly, with friendliness. On his later swings in an election year, he renewed acquaintances throughout the day. A man would come up, shake hands and say, "You came to Hickman, Kentucky, eight years ago; there was a big crowd and you were in a parade; a man stuck his head out of a window and yelled, 'Hurray

31. Edward G. Lowry, *Washington Close-ups: Intimate Views of Some Public Figures* (Boston and New York, 1921), 34.

for Bryan!’ and you looked up and waved. Well, I’m that very man!” And of course Bryan always remembered.³²

He was skilled as a phrase-maker. He knew the Bible and drew upon it for expressions and illustrations. He understood his listeners and could give utterance to their thoughts and sentiments, for those were also his thoughts and sentiments. Of the style of his oratory, Lowry wrote, “It is intimate, easy, and colloquial. . . . His sentences are short and ordinarily he employs words of not more than two syllables. He has acquired the rare art of condensation and can say a great deal in a brief space of time. He drives his point home.”³³

Some of the learned have urged against Bryan that he was a being of emotion rather than of intellect. Such a charge could be leveled against oratory in general — and against music and poetry as well. But there is much to be said for the emotional, the sentimental. The love of a man for a maid is not intellectual. The devotion that sends a mother into a burning building to save her child, the associations that twine around the old school on the hill, the feeling that causes a man to fight and die for his country — these are, every one, emotional. The most loved novels, songs and poems are those that speak to the heart. And Bryan spoke to the hearts of men.

He had magnetism. He inspired loyalty, enthusiasm, devotion, which endured through defeat after defeat, and never a victory. In all the long reach of American politics, no other man held the affection of so many for so long.

If none of these elements is sufficient to explain — and it is to be feared that they are not — the phenomenon which

32. *Ibid.*, 39.

33. *Ibid.*

was Bryan, neither has there been adequate explanation of the magic of the bow of Paganini.

The enchantment of Bryan's eloquence!

While campaigning for Wilson, the Peerless Leader traveled in the last car, as was his custom (in order to reach the rear platform readily), and the coach was crowded with as many passengers as could find space, for they wanted to meet him, to see him, to talk to him, to be near him. At a stop, the passengers in all of the coaches alighted and hastened to the rear in order to hear the speech. The conductor called, "All aboard!" and they ran back to their cars. And this happened every time that he made a speech, all through the day! At each stop even the man in charge of the baggage coach ran the full length of the train and back. Not Prentiss, Grady, Ingersoll or Patrick Henry ever received such a series of tributes from listeners who could never get enough of his oratory!

The brilliant novelist Willa Cather said that early in 1896 — before the convention — a pioneer advocate of free silver died, and to the little Nebraska town where Bryan already was looked upon as a deliverer, he came to speak at the funeral. There, before a few hundred farmers, declared Miss Cather, "I heard him make the greatest speech of his life." Then, a few months later, she heard the "Cross of Gold" oration. One of the "ragged farmers" who had attended the funeral sat beside her, and, "at the close of that never-to-be-forgotten speech, he leaned over the rail, the tears on his furrowed cheeks, and shouted, 'The sweet singer of Israel!'"³⁴

There was only one Bryan.

34. Willa Cather, "The Personal Side of William Jennings Bryan," *Prairie Schooner*, Winter, 1949, as reprinted in *Roundup: A Nebraska Reader* (Lincoln, Neb., 1957), 225-26.

Lincolniana Notes

Lincoln and the Miracles-at-Sea

President Abraham Lincoln, Mrs. Lincoln and their son Tad boarded the steamer *River Queen* on March 23, 1865, for a "working vacation" trip to City Point, Virginia, where General Grant had his headquarters.

Mrs. Lincoln left to return to Washington on April 1, but the President stayed on with Tad. After several days, Mrs. Lincoln went back to City Point, which she and the President then left together on the night of April 8. (See Wayne C. Temple, "Mary Todd Lincoln's Travels," Spring, 1959, issue of this *Journal*.)

An account of the President on vacation — apparently during Mrs. Lincoln's absence — was written by Admiral David D. Porter, commander of the North Atlantic Squadron, in his *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War* (New York, 1885), pages 281, 284-88:

In the latter part of March, 1865, the President came down to City Point, with some members of his family, in a large steamer called the *River Queen*. He came, in the first place, for rest; he looked much worn out with his responsibilities since I had last seen him, and needed the repose he sought. He was also very much interested that the army should move upon the enemy, and, though I am quite sure that he had the most unbounded confidence in General Grant and his judgment, yet I am of opinion that he considered himself a good judge of the time when operations should commence. . . .

The vessel he came up in — the *River Queen* — went off to Norfolk a day or two after his arrival at City Point, and I invited him, or rather he invited himself, to stay with me on board the flag-ship *Malvern*, which was a small vessel with poor accommodations, and not at all fitted to receive high personages. She was a captured blockade-runner, and had been given to me as a flag-ship. I retained her because she was small and drew but little water, and I could run about in her night and day, enter shoal harbors and inlets, and altogether she suited me.

I had only one large state-room in the cabin, one small after cabin that would hold a sofa and four chairs, and a small forward cabin that would dine ten. I could not "sling a cat around by the tail,"

but then I did not want to do that, so the arrangements were to my taste. It was in this unpretentious place that I invited the President to accept my hospitality, and he accepted it with as little formality as if it was his own home he was going into. What pleased him was that he got away from the outer world; no one could get at him but those whom he desired to see; no one could intrude upon his privacy, and he slept with every guard about him — so far as his personal safety was concerned — that he could desire.

What he liked best of all was that no one could ask him for an office.

I offered the President my bed, but he positively declined it, and elected to sleep in a small state-room outside of the cabin, occupied by my secretary. It was the smallest kind of a room, six feet long by four and a half feet wide — a small room for the President of the United States to be domesticated in, but Mr. Lincoln was pleased with it. He told me, at parting, that the few days he had spent on board the *Malvern* were among the pleasantest in his life.

When the President retired for his first night on board, he put his shoes and socks outside the state-room door. I am sorry to say the President's socks had holes in them; but they were washed and darned, his boots cleaned, and the whole placed at his door.

When he came to breakfast he remarked:

"A miracle happened to me last night. When I went to bed I had two large holes in my socks, and this morning there are no holes in them. That never happened to me before; it must be a miracle!"

"How did you sleep?" I inquired.

"I slept well," he answered, "but you can't put a long blade into a short scabbard. I was too long for that berth." Then I remembered he was over six feet four inches, while the berth was only six feet.

That day, while we were out of the ship, all the carpenters were put to work; the state-room was taken down and increased in size to eight feet by six and a half feet. The mattress was widened to suit a berth of four feet width, and the entire state-room remodeled.

Nothing was said to the President about the change in his quarters when he went to bed, but next morning he came out smiling, and said: "A greater miracle than ever happened last night; I shrank six inches in length and about a foot sideways. I got somebody else's big pillow, and slept in a better bed than I did on the *River Queen*, though not half as *lively*." He enjoyed it hugely, but I do think if I had given him two fence-rails to sleep on he would not have found fault. That was Abraham Lincoln in all things relating to his own comfort. He would never permit people to put themselves out for him under any circumstances.

That day I handed him a telegram from Mr. Seward, reading, "Shall I come down and join you?"

"No," he said, "I don't want him. Telegraph him that the berths are too small, and there's not room for another passenger."

"But," I said, "I can provide for him if you desire his presence."

"Tell him, then, I don't want him; he'd talk to me all day about Vattel and Puffendorf.¹ The war will be over in a week, and I don't want to hear any more of that." So Mr. Seward did not come. Mr. Lincoln was determined that none of his Cabinet should come down to City Point, where he intended to propose the terms of surrender himself. He had made up his mind that this fraternal strife should cease in one way or another. I don't know what his conversations with General Grant were, but, from the tenor of his conversations with me, I know that he was determined the Confederacy should have the most liberal terms. "Get them to plowing once," he said, "and gathering in their own little crops, eating pop-corn at their own firesides, and you can't get them to shoulder a musket again for half a century."

He did not want any of his Cabinet down there to contest the views he had formed in regard to this matter, nor to try to turn him from his plans.

I think General Grant started his army off four days sooner than he would have done had not the President been so anxious to bring the war to a conclusion, for that was what moving meant. Any one who knew anything about the war knew that when our army approached Petersburg or Richmond, at that time, it meant the surrender or annihilation of the Southern army. They had nothing left to fight on, and though they might have made a desperate defense, yet the men who led them to battle would have been simply committing murder.

When our army did get some twenty miles away from City Point the artillery stuck fast in the thick red soil, and General Meade told me afterward that it sometimes took eight horses to haul a field-piece clear of the mud. It would have been a bad thing to be caught in that way.

As the army advanced, a telegraph-wire was laid out and a telegraph-office established under the direction of Colonel Bowers, who collected all the dispatches. The President used to sit there nearly all day receiving telegrams, and I sat there with him. "Here," he said once, taking out his little chart, "they are at this point, and Sheridan is just starting off up this road. That will bring about a crisis."

1. Emmerich von Vattel, 1714-1767, Swiss-born jurist, and Baron Samuel von Pufendorf, 1632-1694, a German jurist and historian, authorities on international law and the rules of war.

"Now let us go to dinner; I'd like to peck a little."

Then we came back and received the news of the evacuation of Petersburg. "We will go there to-morrow," he said.

There were three little kittens running about the hut in which the telegraph-office was situated. Mr. Lincoln picked them all up and put them on his little chart on the table. This was a step from the sublime, it is true, but it showed the feelings of the man at a moment when the fate of a nation was hanging in the scales. He could find time to look at God's creatures and be solicitous for their comfort.

"There," he said, "you poor, little, miserable creatures, what brought you into this camp of warriors? Where is your mother?"

"The mother is dead," said the colonel.

"Then she can't grieve for them as many a poor mother is grieving for the sons who have fallen in battle, and who will still grieve if this surrender does not take place without bloodshed. Ah, kitties, thank God you are cats, and can't understand this terrible strife that is going on. There, now, go, my little friends," he continued, wiping the dirt from their eyes with his handkerchief; "that is all I can do for you. Colonel, get them some milk, and don't let them starve; there is too much starvation going on in this land anyhow; mitigate it when we can."

Just then a midshipman came up to the door of the hut with a message for me from Commodore Radford. He informed me that Vice-President Johnson and Preston King² were on board the *Malvern*, and wished to pay their respects to the President.

I never saw such a change in any one in my life as took place in Mr. Lincoln at this announcement. He jumped up from the chair where he had been playing with the kittens and rushed to the door where the young officer was delivering his message. The President was greatly excited, and the habitual benevolent expression had left his face; he was almost frantic. "Don't let those men come into my presence," he said. "I won't see either of them; send them away. They have no business here, any way; no right to come down here without my permission. I won't see them now, and never want to lay eyes on them. I don't care what you do with them, nor where you send them, but don't let them come near me!" and he sat down in his chair looking like a man it would be dangerous for any one to anger.

"Certainly, Mr. President," I said, "your wishes shall be attended to. I will see that you never meet either of these gentlemen."

2. Preston King was chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party from 1860 to 1864. As a delegate to the Republican Convention in Baltimore in 1864 he urged the nomination of Johnson for vice-president. King committed suicide in November, 1865.

I told the midshipman to go back to Commodore Radford³ and tell him "the President could receive no one to-day nor to-morrow"; to go on board my ship and get all the champagne and cigars and other liquors, and entertain the two gentlemen on board the *Phlox* (Radford's dispatch-boat), and take them where he pleased, but under no circumstances to let them come in the President's way. Mr. Lincoln heard all the message, and when I went into the hut again he was sitting there as composed as if nothing had occurred to disturb his equanimity, while the usual benevolent expression shone on his face as before.

He never referred to those two gentlemen again, and I never knew, nor could I imagine, why he was *disturbed* at the announcement of their names.

I have my own impressions on the subject, but don't care to put them on paper.

Commodore Radford did as I requested; took them off somewhere and entertained them. He made a strong friend of Mr. Johnson, who looked after his interests while he was in the White House, and I, without intending it, made a strong enemy, with whom, however, I made it a rule never to come in contact.

Mary's Sister Tells of the Lincolns' Marriage

"Mrs. Frances Jane (Todd) Wallace Describes Lincoln's Wedding" is the title of a pamphlet published recently by the Lincoln Memorial University Press, Harrogate, Tennessee, and distributed to members of the National Lincoln-Civil War Council. The publication is edited by Wayne C. Temple, director of the department of Lincolniana at Lincoln Memorial University.

The text of the pamphlet was originally an interview with Mrs. Frances Jane Todd Wallace, an older sister of Mary Todd Lincoln, obtained by a reporter for the *Chicago Times-Herald*. The interview was published in the *Sunday Times-Herald* of August 25, 1895, and then was reprinted in the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield on September 2, 1895, and finally, in 1917, appeared in a limited-edition pamphlet put out by Harry Ellsworth Barker, a Springfield book dealer. In each of these printings there were a number of errors of commission and omission. Dr. Temple has corrected these by the use of an introduction, footnotes and bracketed

3. William Radford was made a rear admiral on July 25, 1866.

additions to the text. Together they make a six-by-nine-inch pamphlet of twelve pages.

Mrs. Wallace was the widow of Dr. William Smith Wallace, and her brief reminiscences concern the circumstances of her and her sister's coming to Springfield and other family affairs as well as her impressions of Lincoln and of his wedding. Since she was seventy-eight years old at the time of the interview and was talking extemporaneously of events that had taken place thirty to sixty years earlier, there is little wonder that some errors resulted. But neither the original author nor the two earlier editors made any serious effort to correct them, as Dr. Temple has done.

Another Lincoln Memorial for Springfield?

The Great Western Railroad station in Springfield, where President-elect Abraham Lincoln made his moving Farewell Address to his friends and neighbors as he left for Washington, February 11, 1861, has recently been purchased by two Springfield businessmen who may turn the building into a new Lincoln shrine.

The purchasers, Nathan Strum and Harry Stern, bought the station from the Wabash Railroad, which has been using it as a freight station (the Wabash no longer runs passenger trains through Springfield). Originally the Northern Cross line, the Great Western underwent many corporate changes before it became part of the Wabash system.

The station's new owners have announced that they contemplate restoring the building to its original size and refurnishing it in period style. Now two stories high, the station had only one story in 1861. If they restore the building to its 1861 appearance, the new owners said, they would probably have Lincoln exhibits in the old passenger waiting-room, where souvenirs and mementos would also be sold.

Plans to make the Great Western station at Tenth and Monroe streets a Lincoln shrine have been discussed in the past, but nothing has come of them. Only a plaque indicates the station's historic associations, but countless visitors nevertheless include the building in their tour of Lincoln memorials in the Springfield area.

Family Histories

Through the generosity of its friends the Illinois State Historical Library has received many valuable family histories in the last year. Since publication of the list of gifts in the Autumn, 1959, *Journal*, the Library has been given the following genealogical works, for which it wishes to thank the donors:

- Adams.* John D. A. Morrow, *The Family and Descendants of William Barnes Adams and Martha Larimore Adams*, from the author, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Ailes.* See *Athey*.
- Ames.* Van Goodwin Gladney, "Ames: Notes on One Line of the William Ames Family," from Mrs. E. L. Gladney, Jr., Bastrop, La.
- Athey.* Ruth T. Ravenscroft, "Athey—May—Ailes—Patton—Underwood and Allied Families," from the author, Colorado Springs, Colo.
- Atwood.* William Atwood, "Atwood Family History," from U.S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Fort Clark Chapter, Peoria.
- Baylis.* Willetta Baylis Blum and William Blum, Sr., *The Baylis Family of Virginia*, from Dr. William Blum, Sr., Washington, D.C.
- Bell.* Raymond Martin Bell, "The Bells of East Pennsborough, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania," from the author, Washington, Pa.
- Billard.* William Hopple Edwards, "Genealogical and Ancestral Notes, Series II, Ancestors of Mary Elizabeth Billard," from the author, Meriden, Conn.
- Bloss.* Richard R. Bloss, "Bloss Genealogy," from the author, Beaumont, Tex.
- Brown County.* Meribah Clark, comp., "Brown County, Illinois, Cemetery Records," from the compiler, Mt. Sterling, Ill.
- Bureau County.* "Cemetery Inscriptions of Bureau, Marshall, Peoria, Putnam, Woodford Counties, Ill.," from U.S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Fort Clark Chapter, Peoria.
- Caldwell.* See *Kennedy*.
- Davenport.* Eleanor Brewster Davenport Grant, "The Ancestry and Descendants of John and Jane Ann (Lounsbery) Davenport," from the author, River Forest, Ill.
- Day.* J. Edward Day, "Descendants of Christopher Day of Bucks Co., Pa.," from the author, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Dillon.* Charles Raymond Dillon, "Dillon Ancestors," from the author, Los Angeles, Calif.

- Duryea.* Rhea Duryea (Mrs. W. Harvey) Johnson, "Our Duryea and Turner Lines," from the author, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Edwards.* "Historical and Biographical Sketch of the Edwards Family," from U.S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Fort Clark Chapter, Peoria.
- Endsley.* Nathan Clark Shannon, "The Endsley Family," from the author, Webster Groves, Mo.
- Engelmann.* Gertrud Baecker, *Die Kurpfälzischen Familien Engelmann und Hilgard*, from Theodore E. Kircher, Belleville, Ill.
- Ensminger.* Raymond Martin Bell, "Additional Notes on the Ensminger Family," from the author, Washington, Pa.
- Flickiger.* See *Nussbaum*.
- Fuller.* R. E. Banta, *Benjamin Fuller and Some of His Descendants*, from the author, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- Fulton County.* "Cemetery Inscriptions of Fulton County, Illinois," from U.S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Fort Clark Chapter, Peoria.
- Hall.* Estella (Mrs. Alfred C.) Toll, "Family Record of Jehu Hall," from the author, Lawndale, Calif.
- Hamarsbön.* Aagot Raaen, "Hamarsbön—Raaen Genealogy," from E. Felland, Chicago.
- Hanks.* Adin Baber, "Nancy Hanks of 'Undistinguished Families — Second Families,'" from the author, Kansas, Ill.
- Harkness.* Roscoe L. Ball, "Some Descendants of John and Margaret Harkness of Newton, Massachusetts," from the author, Wenona, Ill.
- Hart.* See *Young*.
- Henry, Ill.* "Cemetery Inscriptions of Henry City Cemetery, Henry, Illinois . . .," from U.S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Fort Clark Chapter, Peoria.
- Higgins.* Louise Bales Southwick, "Descendants of Joel Higgins and Margaret Womack Higgins," from the author, Waggoner, Ill.
- Hilgard.* See *Engelmann*.
- Hornback.* Alan C. Hunt, *The Hornback Genealogy*, from the author, Peoria, Ill.
- Hunnicut.* J. D. Hunnicutt, . . . *Hunnicut—Honeycutt Descendants . . .*, from Mrs. Ione Cowell, Fort Worth, Tex.
- Kansas.* Sons of the American Revolution, "Roster of the Kansas Society of the Sons of the American Revolution," from R. W. Ayer, Registrar, Kansas Sons of the American Revolution, Topeka.
- Kappes.* Marion C. Moore, "History of the Kappes Family from John Kappes, 1804, to Georgia Miller, 1958," from the author, Tolono, Ill.

- Kennedy.* James K. Young, "Kennedy—Caldwell Family Descendants . . .," from the author, Springfield, Ill.
- Kilbourn.* *Genealogy of the Thomas Kilbourn (1771-1837) Branch of the Kilbourn Family*, from Mrs. H. C. Dearborn, Mason City, Ill.
- Klumph.* Richard A. Klumph, *Klumph Genealogy and Early Klumph History*, from the author, Kalamazoo, Mich.
- Knapp.* Alfred Averill Knapp, "A Knapp Line back to Adam with Huguenot, Crusade, and Magna Charta Connections," from the author, Winter Park, Fla.
- Larimore.* See *Adams*.
- Leeright.* See *Wright*.
- Lemaster.* Howard M. Lemaster, *Lemaster Family, USA 1959*, from the author, Carlinville, Ill.
- Lounsbery.* See *Davenport*.
- Lurton.* Mildred Smith (Mrs. John S.) Devanny, "Sarah Margaret Lurton, Her Ancestors and Her Descendants," from the author, Lincoln, Ill.
- McDonnell.* Linda Vandegrift Denison Cherry, *McDonnell and Allied Families*, from Mrs. William A. McDonnell, Clayton, Mo.
- Marshall County.* See *Bureau County*.
- Matthew.* William Ralph Matthew, "The Nathan Matthew Family," from the author, Springfield, Ill.
- May.* See *Athey*.
- Meriweather.* William Ralph Matthew, "The Nicholas Meriweather Family," from the author, Springfield, Ill.
- Merwin.* *Miles Merwin (1623-1697) Association*, from Charles L. Merwin, Washington, D.C.
- Miller.* Benjamin Hovey Miller, "A History of the Miller and Allied Families," from the author, New Market, N.H. See also *Kappes*.
- Millspaugh.* Francis C. Millspaugh, "Millspaugh—Millspaw," from the author, Swampscott, Mass.
- Mojonnier.* Timothy Mojonnier, "A Brief History of the Mojonnier Family," from the author, Chicago.
- Montonye.* Vernon Brown, "'Montonye,' Historical and Genealogical Records of the Descendants of John Montonye, Revolutionary Soldier . . .," from the author, Mattoon, Ill.
- Nussbaum.* Ben Nussbaum, *Nussbaums, Being an Account of Niklaus and Anna Barbara Flickiger Nussbaum and Their Descendants*, from the author, Fairbury, Ill.
- O'Hair.* Mary C. O'Hair, "Jesse O'Hair Branch of the O'Hair Family in America," from the author, Wabash, Ind.

- Oxford, Mass.* Huguenot Memorial Society of Oxford, *Champions of Freedom*, from the Society (Mrs. C. L. Carpenter, president, Worcester, Mass.).
- Page.* William Ralph Matthew, "The Wesley Page Family," from the author, Springfield, Ill.
- Pallissard.* Julia Lecour (Mrs. Augustine) Bowe, *The Generations*, from the author, Chicago.
- Patton.* See *Athey*.
- Paullin.* Elmer Garfield Van Name, *The Paullin Family of Southern New Jersey*, from the author, Haddonfield, N.J.
- Peoria County.* Alfred T. Andreas, "[Atlas Map of Peoria County] Names Taken from the Peoria County Atlas," from U.S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Fort Clark Chapter, Peoria. See also *Bureau County*.
- Perry County.* Elizabeth E. Spurgeon and Dorothy I. Cooke, comps., "Marriage Licenses Issued in Perry County, Illinois, Beginning 1827," from Mrs. M. E. Spurgeon, Pinckneyville, Ill.
- Prichard.* Jacob L. Pritchard, *A Compilation of Some of the Descendants of Roger Prichard, c1600-1671*, from the author, San Jose, Calif.
- Putnam County.* See *Bureau County*.
- Raaen.* See *Hamarsbön*.
- Randolph.* Allan R. Edwards, "The Ancestors and Descendants of John W. Randolph, Pope County, Illinois," from the author, Berryville, Va.
- Rhodes.* Howard J. Rhodes, *The Rhodes Family in America: A Genealogy and History*, from Mrs. Vesper B. Trodick, Kalispell, Mont.
- Ross.* Ruth Ross (Mrs. Roy E.) Curray, "Concerning My Ancestors, Relatives and Descendants," from the author, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- Rowell.* Melvin Rowell, *Supplement to the Register of Rowells*, from the author, Northroad Narrows, N.H.
- Seibert.* Raymond Martin Bell, "The Seibert Family," from the author, Washington, Pa.
- Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims. Lineages of Members . . . Index to Vol. I and Lineages of the National Society . . . 1920-1952, Vol. II*, both from Mrs. George C. Gumbart, Macomb, Ill.
- Simonson.* Elmer Garfield Van Name, *The Simonson Families of Staten Island, New York*, from the author, Haddonfield, N.J.
- Steenrod.* Robert L. Steenrod, "A Genealogical Study of the Steenrod Family," from the author, Belvidere, Ill.
- Taylor.* *The Lineage and Descendants of Tarpley Early Taylor*, pre-

pared by his children and grandchildren, from H. C. Taylor, Washington, D.C.

Traylor. "Joel C. Traylor Family" (chart), from Springfield Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Turner. See *Duryea*.

Underwood. See *Athey*.

Walker. James K. Young, "A Supplement to Emma Siggins White's *The Descendants of John Walker of Wigton, Scotland*," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Walker County, Ala. "Records of Walker County, Alabama . . . Collected by Florence Knight Guttery," from Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Wall. Juliette Wall Pope, *A George Willard Wall Memorial*, from Mrs. F. S. Wall, Washington, D.C.

Walter. Ethel Walter Hupp, *The Simon Walter Family*, from E. V. Walter, West Lafayette, Ind.

Walton. Norman Walton Swayne, "Byberry Waltons . . .," from the author, Newton, Pa.

West. Isabel Stebbins (Mrs. George) Giulvezan, "Notes on Amos West (1766-1819) of Sumner County, Tennessee and Logan County, Kentucky," from the author, Afton, Mo.

Womack. See *Higgins*.

Woodford County. See *Bureau County*.

Wright. Bettie Leeright (Mrs. H. M.) Broadbent, "The Wright—Leeright Family," from the author, Salem, Ore.

Yarnall. Oliver Haught, "The Yarnall Family," from the author, East St. Louis, Ill.

Young. James K. Young, "The Young—Hart Family" and "The Young—Young Family . . .," both from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The business docket of J Otis Humphrey, Springfield lawyer, judge, and officer of the Abraham Lincoln Association, has recently been added to the Illinois State Historical Library's collections. This indexed record covers the years 1884 to 1899 and provides information regarding plaintiff and defendant, court, case, counsel, and action taken. Most prominent of the individuals named therein is Eugene V. Debs, the labor leader. The Debs case before Judge Humphrey involved an injunction brought against Debs and others by various railroad companies in the summer of 1894.

The papers of George Bascomb Dryden, Chicago rubber executive and sportsman, provide information about such interesting and diverse subjects as the rubber industry, a safari to Nairobi and a 1936 Rocky Mountain expedition with former Vice-President of the United States Charles G. Dawes. Financial reports of the following Dryden enterprises form the bulk of the collection: Dryden Hoof Pad Company, Charles P. Dryden Company, Peerless Rubber Horse Shoe Company, Peerless Mold and Machine Company, Dryden Rubber Company and the Sheffler Manufacturing Company.

Employees of the Bunn Capitol Grocery Company of Springfield recently discovered a ledger containing information about the erection of the present State Capitol. This record, written in a very fine hand, gives the names of workmen, hours of work, rates of pay and total payroll for the period from September, 1871, to June, 1874. At that time workmen were being paid fifteen to fifty cents an hour for a ten-hour day.

On January 18, 1868, Jacksonville, Illinois, was the scene of the formation of the Odeon, a society "having for its objects the mental, moral and aesthetic culture of its members." The constitution of the Odeon and its records from January, 1868, to June, 1869, are contained in a business ledger along with the accounts of a stationery and book store owned by Charles M. Eames and a partner. Eames was the compiler of *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*, editor and publisher of the *Jacksonville Journal* and secretary of the Odeon. Apparently he used the Odeon record book as a business ledger after the demise of the organization, thereby following the prevalent office maxim that paper should never be wasted.

BERNARD WAX

Book Reviews

THE MIND AND SPIRIT OF JOHN PETER ALTGELD

Edited by Henry M. Christman. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1960. Pp. 183. \$4.00.)

This little volume is primarily a selection of the writings of John Peter Altgeld, German-born governor of Illinois from 1893 to 1897. It should be read by every person who would improve the lot of his fellow man and by every public figure who has been buffeted by public opinion for an act of courage.

In the opinion of this reviewer, John Peter Altgeld was one of the greatest — if, indeed, not the greatest — governors of Illinois. This volume of his writings illustrates the nature of that greatness. Altgeld was a great spirit, a great liberal humanitarian. The task of the liberal is an unremitting one. If he drops his guard for a moment, there is always a force of reaction ready to undo any progress that has been achieved. John Peter Altgeld's labor was made more difficult by the fact that he lived in a time of the worst social injustices in the history of the United States.

The last selection in the volume is a memorial address delivered by Clarence Darrow at Chicago on April 20, 1902. Darrow, whose own career was one dedicated to right and justice, delivered a

poignant tribute to his deceased friend:

John P. Altgeld was a soldier in the everlasting struggle of the human race for liberty and justice on the earth. From the first awakening of his young mind until the last relentless summons came, he was a soldier who had no rest or furlough, who was ever on the field in the forefront of the deadliest and most hopeless fight, whom none but death could muster out [page 180].

The editor has included ten selections from the writings and speeches of Altgeld. These span a time period of less than ten years. The first was written in 1889, while the last is Altgeld's farewell address, written just before the end of his term as governor in 1897. These selections deal with such topics as the importance of the immigrant to America, criminology and penology, and labor problems. One of the most interesting selections is his defense of the pardon of the victims of the Haymarket Riot. This paper runs to more than forty pages and illustrates the thoroughness of Altgeld's investigation of the matter. The piece is completely documented and, al-

though Altgeld must have felt very strongly on the subject, is written with great restraint.

Because of his love for his fellow man, Altgeld was denounced by the forces of reaction on every side. As he was leaving office, he prepared the customary speech to deliver at the inauguration of his successor. In spite of the cordial

and generous good wishes extended to his successor, Altgeld was not allowed to deliver his speech. History has rendered the verdict. Altgeld is discussed in every general account of the period and has been the subject of many biographers. Who, however, can name his successor?

DONALD F. TINGLEY
Eastern Illinois University

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE BOOK OF THE PIONEER SPIRIT
By the Editors of American Heritage. (American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc.: New York, 1959. Pp. 399. \$12.95.)

This book is priced at \$12.95 and is a bargain. With its 480 wonderful illustrations, 150 in full color, it is the biggest and best volume of American history pictures ever published. It required the resources of a large and well-financed organization to find these illustrations, many of which are rarities, to get the necessary permissions to reproduce them and to print them as attractively as they are printed here. This reviewer defies anyone — American or foreigner — to read and view this book and then announce: "American history is a subject without interest to me."

It is the thesis of the book that the frontier and the individualistic pragmatic outlook it engendered in the American people shaped our destinies; that although the frontier is gone the pioneer spirit lives on and in the new "space age" can be drawn upon to carry

us to new greatness. Stated so baldly, this thesis can be counted upon to start debates among professional historians from Maine to Hawaii; but the book is not intended for them. Its great value lies in its attractive visual and literary presentation of a large part of the subject matter of American history. Its readers, including a great many bright children and young people, will derive an interest which will lead them on into the reading of the sources and the books of the scholars.

There are eleven chapters and four "picture portfolios" (although about half the space of each "chapter" is also given up to pictures). Each chapter begins with a 2,000-word essay by Allan Nevins, as good and as perceptive as we would expect from that experienced historian. The remainder of the text is organized into topical essays which give perti-

nence to the pictures on each big folio page.

Beginning with the discovery of America and the "earliest frontier," a good portion of the book is given up to the frontier of the Indian, the trapper, the cowboy and the miner. Beyond the halfway point we make contact, but less expansively, with the "frontiers" of early industry and transportation, and with the utopian socialists, the peace crusaders, the women's rights champions and the abolitionists. The eccentricities of our great-grandparents are each allowed a brief time in the spotlight, which shows, among other things and people, the Claflin sisters, Sylvester Graham, the Fox sisters, the Millerites and phrenology.

Toward the end, Theodore Roosevelt and his Big Stick appear as a symbol of the pioneer spirit

in international relations; we fly with the Wright brothers, and we find ourselves suddenly in the world of the nuclear physicists. There is much stress upon personality. If there was any "pioneering" being done by the great Democratic presidents, consideration of it must have been saved for a possible later volume.

The little articles are well done, bright, interesting and responsible. If the "message" seems to become confused and to peter out once the twentieth century has been reached, we can credit the authors with good intentions and recall that this is a "recruiting" book for readers of history. My only important criticism is that, it being that kind of book, why, oh why, is there no bibliography at all?

GEORGE W. ADAMS
Southern Illinois University

THE CHARACTER OF AMERICAN HISTORY

By W. R. Brock. (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1960. Pp. xii, 294.)

The typical European interpreter of the United States in the nineteenth century was a literary traveler concerned primarily with the contemporary scene. Only in recent decades has the study of American history been undertaken seriously by a considerable number of professional scholars in the universities of Europe. That this new group, like the Tocquevilles, Martineaus and Bryces of an earlier day, can teach us much about our-

selves is admirably demonstrated by W. R. Brock in his brief perceptive survey of American development from colonial times to the present.

As an Englishman, Brock is able to understand and appreciate the American system of political democracy (upon which his interest is centered) and yet view it with the cool detachment of an outside observer. He writes sympathetically, but critically, and in a grace-

ful, lucid style. His approach is conventional in that he deals primarily with such familiar subjects as the Revolution, nationalism and sectionalism, the Civil War, the evolution of a "liberal capitalist civilization" and the emergence of the United States as a world power. But he leaves the details to the textbooks and proceeds, with a combination of broad-stroked narrative and thoughtful analysis, to illuminate the main contours of American history. His book is thus both a short history and a historical essay — a summary of the facts and a commentary upon them.

As Brock himself hastens to acknowledge, many of his ideas are derived from the works of more specialized scholars. He adopts, on pages 13-17, for instance, the Elkins-McKittrick corollary to the Turner thesis as an explanation of the democratizing effect of the frontier experience. Nevertheless, it is clear that the final product owes as much to his thinking about American history as to his extensive reading in the field.

Inevitably, in a book of such scope and brevity, some of the generalizations are put too strongly or too simply: the ante-bellum South and Northwest were "two societies which had little in common"; the Federal government was "a wholly artificial creation." Also, in his frequent weighing of good features against bad, the author at times

achieves a disconcerting seesaw effect and suspends judgment where it is most needed.

In general, however, one finds economy without sacrifice of accuracy, and incisiveness without loss of balance. "America," he aptly observes, "was not a deferential society. The poor man was not expected to know his place but to rise from it; . . . economic inequality was one of the facts of life but subordination was not treated as a moral virtue." And of the pre-Civil War period he says, "The paradox of American life was that while the economy was dynamic and society fluid, political argument was static and barren." The book is rich in such crisp, quotable and usually sound assessments.

Although more detached from his subject than American historians, the author writes with a full awareness of his own great stake in the fate of the United States. Running through the book is an implicit question that is most clearly stated at the end of the first chapter. How well has the historical experience of Americans prepared them for their role of world leadership? Brock is apparently hopeful but not overconfident. "It remains to be seen," he declares, "whether the intellectual and emotional resources of American civilization are sufficient for the times."

D. E. FEHRENBACHER
Stanford University

CUMULATIVE VOTING: AN EFFECTIVE ELECTORAL DEVICE
IN ILLINOIS POLITICS

By George S. Blair. (*Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. 45. University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1960. Pp. 145. Paper, \$2.50; cloth, \$3.50.)

Cumulative voting, the system used since 1872 in the election of members to the Illinois House of Representatives, is employed by no other state in the union. Dr. Blair subjects this unique voting procedure to analysis with the aim of assessing its effect upon the composition and operation of the lower house, using as his yardstick statistics from comparable bodies in Indiana, Iowa, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Publication of the study is timely in view of widespread misunderstanding of the cumulative voting system and the continuing controversy as to its advantages and disadvantages, and, while the author disclaims any attempt to influence opinion either for or against it, he does attempt to verify or disprove the validity of some of the objections to the system.

Under cumulative voting, the voter casts three votes for candidates for the office of state representative. He may distribute them in any one of four ways: He may cumulate his votes and cast them all for one candidate (known as "plumping"); he may cast one and one-half votes for each of two candidates; he may cast one vote for each of three candidates; or he may (though

this is uncommon) cast one vote for one candidate and two votes for another.

The most readily understood effect of this device is its encouragement of minority representation. Dr. Blair examines also such questions as the effect upon the degree of interparty and intraparty contests; the size of the majority in control; the tendency for violent shifts to occur in party composition from session to session; and the tenure and previous legislative experience of members.

The method of electing members to the General Assembly prescribed by the Illinois Constitution of 1848 resulted in sectional, rather than district, representation, so that by 1870 the Republican Party held most of the seats in both houses from the northern half of the state, while the Democrats elected nearly all of the legislators from the southern half. Thus some 100,000 Democrats in the north, and nearly as many Republicans in the south, were without a voice in choosing their lawmakers.

There were notable inequalities in district populations, as evidenced by the fact that in 1870 there were six representatives with constituencies of fewer than 20,000, while ten had more than

40,000 each. A further difficulty was the inflation of Republican strength in the House as compared to the party vote throughout the state. In the 1869 session, the Republicans held a majority of 57 to 28 in the House, whereas their strength in the state, reckoned by the 249,912 votes they cast for governor the previous year when Democrats cast 199,913 votes, indicated that their advantage should have been only 48 to 37.

Representative reform was thus one of the most important questions to be considered at the Constitutional Convention of 1870. Joseph Medill, editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, was chairman of the Committee on Electoral and Representative Reform. In pleading with the convention for the adoption of the cumulative voting plan devised by his committee, he said:

There are thousands of young men and advanced minds in this state who think more highly of this proposition than of anything else we will have to offer them. . . . The disfranchised and downtrodden minorities will everywhere rally to its support, and secure to the new Constitution for its sake a triumphant ratification. This great measure of reform will carry out pure democratic equality and equal rights for all men in the legislative halls; secure the equal representation of every citizen, the minority with the majority, man for man; allay partisan strife, reform legislative corruption, purify the elec-

tive system, inspire good and quiet citizens to attend the polls, enable virtuous citizens to elect pure and able representatives.

That many voters were able to resist the promises of this enthusiastic endorsement was shown by the tally when the plan was submitted to referendum as one of eight propositions separate from the new constitution. While it was ratified, it received the smallest margin of victory of any of the eight, and forty counties turned in majorities against it. Nearly fifty years later, in the discussion of issues to be considered by the Constitutional Convention of 1920, the pamphleteers "generally listed cumulative voting as one of the glaring evils of the constitution of 1870 which had to be remedied in the new convention" (page 110).

Details of this early history as well as of later legislative attempts to extend cumulative voting to primary elections (finally achieved in 1910) give the background necessary to comprehension of the subject. Thorough explanation of the machinery set up to administer the system is also helpful to an understanding of the comparisons between its performance and that of the electoral systems of the four other states studied.

While the system does fall short of Medill's predictions for electoral reform. Dr. Blair's conclusions tend to confirm its success. He finds that in the first election following adoption of cumulative

voting, minority representation was achieved in most districts, and party alignments reflected quite accurately the relative strength of the two parties. He agrees also that greater stability of legislative personnel has been realized and that the tendencies for violent shifts in party composition from session to session have been tempered.

Dr. Blair rates as a disadvantage the "free pass" or "set-up" system prevailing in some districts where the major parties nominate only three candidates between them. Voter participation is discouraged in these areas, since there is then no contest in the November elections. Other drawbacks are the mechanical difficulties, chief among them being confusion due to inadequate instruction in the use of voting machines and the complication of tallying fractional votes when paper ballots are used. He concludes, however, that "most of the political conditions in Illinois which foster criticism of the

system are not inherent weaknesses in, or results of, the system itself."

The study extends only to 1954, since legislative reapportionment and redistricting in 1955 abolished the senatorial districts from which one senator and three representatives were elected, and set up in their stead fifty-eight senatorial districts and fifty-nine representative districts. Thus, through no fault of the author's, his comparisons and conclusions are completely valid only for the specific period ending in 1954. He does, however, make adequate explanation of the new alignment, and since the cumulative voting system itself was not altered the value of the study is not lessened.

A closer editing of the book would have removed much repetitive material, particularly in the explanations of the system itself. Tables, charts and maps are well done and are useful adjuncts to the text.

ELIZABETH B. RISSLER
Springfield

HANCOCK THE SUPERB

By Glenn Tucker. (Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.: Indianapolis and New York, 1960. Pp. 311, pictures, maps, and index. \$5.00.)

"Hancock was superb today," McClellan telegraphed his wife after the attack on Fort Magruder in May, 1862. The word "superb" sets the theme, virtually a thesis, of Glenn Tucker's biography of General Winfield Scott Hancock. Although Tucker sometimes pro-

tests too much, he develops an engaging portrait of a heroic American.

From the time Hancock was given an appointment to West Point, he made a career of the army, a career which he did not suspend even to campaign for the

presidency in 1880. Only sixteen, and undersized at that, he left his family and twin brother in Norristown, Pennsylvania, to enter the Point in 1840. Like many other prominent Civil War generals whom he knew there, Hancock was not near the top of his class, but he was graduated, still handsome, and six feet, two inches in height. His name helped to get him to the scene of action in the Mexican War under General Scott, and his actions brought a brevet as a first lieutenant.

In the years between the Mexican and Civil Wars, Hancock met and married Almira Russell of St. Louis, was raised to the rank of captain, and did garrison duty at Jefferson Barracks, Fort Leavenworth and Los Angeles, with an assignment to Florida at the time of the Seminole uprising. During these years the young captain learned much, from both his duties and his studies. The outbreak of the Civil War found Captain Hancock still in Los Angeles, doing his duty: "Probably all that saved the faraway section of Southern California for the Union at this critical moment was Hancock's care in seeing that his precious guns, ammunition, and supplies were adequately protected." Hancock, impatient for the fray, was finally recalled to the East, where he was placed in command of a brigade of the Army of the Potomac, jumping three grades.

After drilling his brigade, he

distinguished himself in the Peninsular Campaign, became a division commander at Antietam, stormed fiercely at Marye's Heights, fought his command valiantly at Chancellorsville and became commander of the Second Corps on June 9, 1863. As General Meade's proxy, according to Tucker, he selected the battlefield site at Gettysburg and directed and inspired the Union fighting until he was seriously wounded in the Confederate attack on the third day. It was not until the next March that he was fit to re-assume command of his corps, now part of Grant's forces. Hancock and the Second Corps fought strenuously in the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, at Cold Harbor and at Petersburg, but — because of his wound, General Grant, other officers, some of his troops and the enemy — Hancock became the center of a certain amount of contention and received part of the criticism brought about by that campaign.

After Appomattox, Hancock arranged the surrender of Mosby, executed the sentences against the Booth conspirators and campaigned against the Plains Indians. As governor of the Fifth Military District, he restored civilian rule to Texas and Louisiana late in 1867, earning the enmity of the congressional Radicals. Relieved of this post, and at odds with Grant, Hancock was finally given command of the Department of

the Atlantic, spending the final fourteen years of his life at his headquarters on Governors Island. Here he impoverished himself assisting old soldiers, here he suffered from diabetes and grew fat, from here he campaigned quietly and lost the presidency in a close election, and here he died in 1886.

This is the subject matter with which Tucker deals, and he does it with considerable journalistic ability. Without any question, this is a biography which needed writing. In most collegiate texts, Hancock has received little or no recognition for his military career; one example being: “. . . the Democratic nominee was the stolid and corpulent Winfield S. Hancock, who had been a Civil War general, and had ingratiated himself with the South by his brief term as military governor in Louisiana.” Tucker tends to over-compensate for this neglect by creating a three-dimensional figure much larger than life, one who almost never erred, one whose only blemish was his “extravagant indulgence in harsh and profane speech.”

The author might well have titled this book *Hancock the Unfortunate*. The self-serving attitudes of other generals and Hancock's own modesty, loyalty, uncompromising principles and adherence to the Democratic Party lost him the command of the Army of the Potomac (seriously considered several times), perhaps

the general command of the Union Army and the presidency, leaving him only the reputation of “the most conspicuous of all the general officers who did not exercise separate command,” according to Grant. On the other hand, *Hancock the Fortunate* as a title is equally applicable. Fitz John Porter, for example, was a corps commander who suffered unjust removal from the army; Burnside was one of several who did not enhance their reputations as commander of the Army of the Potomac; Grant was criticized for incurring heavy casualties, many of which came from Hancock's corps in the latter part of the war; and the Civil War generals who did become President did not set high average standards.

This book is well worth reading. The inclusion of sketches and photographs add interest; and the maps, done by Dorothy Thomas Tucker, are especially valuable aids, and clarify movements in the vividly described major engagements. Scholars might well raise questions about Tucker's interpretation of the many disputes, resulting from the pressure of battle and publicity, over authority, credit and honor. Some of the minor disputes should have been relegated to footnotes, as should the phrenological analysis of Hancock; and the footnotes, unfortunately, are in the back of the book.

General Hancock was an excel-

lent soldier. He was a brave and inspired leader of men, one who had mastered the techniques of his profession: drill, logistics, tactics and group psychology. Al-

though circumstances prevented him from becoming more than a "subordinate" general, in that position he truly was superb.

HAROLD J. ZIEGLER
Blackburn College

A PIONEER IN NORTHWEST AMERICA, 1841-1858: THE
MEMOIRS OF GUSTAF UNONIUS. VOLUME II.

Translated from the Swedish by Jonas Oscar Backlund. Edited by Nils William Olsson. (Published for the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society by the University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1960. Pp. 357. Editor's notes, index to Vols. I and II. \$7.50.)

"The principal aim of this book has been to give a faithful picture of immigrant life in the West and the circumstances I encountered," writes Unonius in one of the final chapters of his memoirs. Volume II picks up the story of Unonius and his family at the Pine Lake settlement in Wisconsin in 1843, shortly before Unonius decided to prepare for the ministry in the Episcopal Church.

He writes of his student life at Nashotah in the preparatory school and theological seminary, his ordination to work as a missionary traveling among scattered settlements in Wisconsin, his life as parish pastor in the church in Manitowoc, and the move a year later to Chicago, where he led the reorganized Swedish-Norwegian congregation, St. Ansgarius, through its beginning struggles. Thus the circumstances of his life brought him in touch with the isolated rural settlements of the then Northwest, where he worked

as farmer, student and missionary; with the rapidly growing industrial city of Chicago, where he worked as parish priest; and with the established communities and churches of the eastern states, where he went on what he calls his "begging trip."

In addition to the story of his work in the Episcopal Church, his observations range from descriptions of soil conditions, economic opportunities in the different sections of the United States, class relationships in the United States, cholera and the plight of the widow and orphan to accounts of Hedstrom and the Swedish Methodists, Janson and the Bishop Hill settlement, Esbjorn and the Swedish Lutherans of northern Illinois.

Through all of his writing Unonius maintains a lively personal style, and his book reveals the confidence, the doubts, the humor, the sadness, the successes, the failures, of a strong and dedicated man. This and the earlier

volume comprise a tremendously interesting "time capsule" of the period 1841-1858, as seen through

the eyes of one pioneer in the Northwest, Gustaf Unonius.

BETSEY BRODAHL
Augustana College

THE ELECTRIC INTERURBAN RAILWAYS OF AMERICA

By George W. Hilton and John F. Due. (Stanford University Press: Stanford, Calif., 1960. Pp. 463. \$9.50.)

"The electric interurban provided a transitional step from almost sole reliance upon the steam railroad to an almost complete dependence upon the automobile," so says the preface to this encyclopedic volume. In its early years the interurban railway was hailed as almost a gift from heaven, and the welcoming red carpet was rolled out in hundreds of American town and cities. The "trains" (interurban managers always called their cars "trains") entered the downtown centers of almost every community served and brought the customers practically to the doorsteps of the merchants. The trains were expected to be the means of solving all local, intercity, and even neighborhood traffic problems for all time to come. And forlorn was the town that was bypassed by the interurban — it might not survive at all!

The Illinois Traction System (later the Illinois Terminal Railroad), which operated in our state, was the largest interurban traction line in the country — with the exception of the essentially suburban Pacific Electric. It began

operations at Danville in 1901 and grew westward through Urbana, Champaign, Decatur and Springfield, with lines from Decatur to Bloomington and from Peoria to Springfield. The "I.T.S.," as it was known, was considered a friend and neighbor, and its long cars nosed their way through the central business districts of most of the towns it visited. In its palmier days this 400-mile line had parlor car service and sleeping cars, and in the 1920's it even built its own bridge across the Mississippi (the McKinley Bridge) to supplement its expanded lines in the Illinois suburbs of St. Louis. The I.T.S. also did a substantial freight business, most of which it took from paralleling steam railroads.

Another of the larger Illinois interurban lines was known as the McKinley System and ran from Joliet to Princeton — in 1917 it was named the Chicago, Ottawa and Peoria Railway, although it never did reach Peoria. Its founder was William B. McKinley, who assembled an empire of interurbans, city streetcar lines and electric and gas utilities. On the basis of the prestige these com-

panies supplied, he was elected a congressman and then a United States senator. His line was advertised as the road where "Nature Smiles for Miles and Miles" and "It Winds Between Fair Beauty Scenes." Although it connected with a number of other lines in the northern part of the state, it never did meet the I.T.S. A traveler was unable to go all the way from Chicago to St. Louis by interurban, which was a handicap.

Some of the many smaller lines in Illinois ran from Galva to Kewanee, Rock Island to Monmouth and Galesburg, Urbana to Kankakee, Mattoon to Charleston, Sterling to Dixon, Kankakee to Chicago, and Dwight to Pontiac. And, of course, there were a number of important suburban lines in Chicago, such as the Chicago, Aurora and Elgin, the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee and the Chicago, South Shore and South Bend. Incidentally, a head-on collision on the ten-mile line between Charleston and Mattoon in 1907 resulted in the death of

eighteen persons and injuries to fifty more, and forced the little line into receivership.

Indiana and Ohio were also active interurban states. The Indianapolis Traction Terminal with its nine-story office building and elaborate train sheds was a beehive of activity for several decades after 1904, when it was erected. From this terminal, trains left hourly — for eighteen to twenty hours daily — for every town and city within the state, with the lone exception of Bloomington, home of Indiana University. This once-great interurban terminal now serves as the city's Union Bus Station.

The authors of this book, Hilton (Stanford University) and Due (University of Illinois), have given us a wonderful volume that will interest both the general reader and the historian. It sparkles with information, is admirably indexed, and has copious notes. I predict that it will remain the standard reference volume on interurbans for many years to come.

C. C. BURFORD
Urbana

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AMONG NORWEGIAN-AMERICANS

By E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold. (Augsburg Publishing House: Minneapolis, 1960. Vol. I, pp. xix, 357; Vol. II, pp. xix, 379. \$12.50 boxed set.)

The first settlement of Norwegian immigrants in the Midwest was in the Fox River Valley of Illinois. This was a colony which had left Norway in 1825, located a few

years in western New York, near Rochester, then migrated to La Salle County, in Illinois, between 1834 and 1837. The main stream of Norwegian immigration, how-

ever, flowed through southern Wisconsin to the states of Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas. By 1914 it was estimated that there were two million Americans of Norwegian ancestry, and while there were concentrations on both the east and the west coasts the great majority were in the Plains states.

This work, however, is not the story of the Norwegian settlers in this workaday world but of the church in their midst. These people came from a country remarkable for its homogeneity and from a church which included practically every citizen. In the United States most of the Norwegians remained Lutheran, though a considerable number were impatient over the church language (which remained Norwegian until World War I) and drifted into other churches — or away from all churches. However, though all were Lutheran, the settlements were rent by strife which accentuated differences brought along from Norway or developed in this country. Not until 1917 were they able to unite in one church body.

Norway had experienced a deep-going revival at the turn of the nineteenth century, occasioned by a great lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge. The established church looked askance at lay activity, but the people throughout the land were deeply impressed. In the settlements of the Midwest the division between state church

clergy and lay leaders of congregational life became marked and bitter. The first Illinois colony was Haugean, and one of its leaders, Elling Eielsen, was an influential figure in the Norwegian communities for half a century. The first synod bore his name, and dates from 1846. But in 1853 the Norwegian Synod came into being and represented itself as the daughter church of the Church of Norway. Educated and aristocratic clergymen from the old country became its leaders, and they emphasized order in the church, stressing liturgical worship and an educated clergy.

These two volumes are essentially church history, and the authors are to be congratulated on telling an intricate story clearly and fairly. There is much here of theology, for the divisions in the church were identified with theological speculation on such questions as conversion, absolution, election and justification. The Norwegian Synod early became an ally of the Missouri Synod, whose stand on doctrine and slavery made the Haugean lay folk doubly antagonistic. For a while a group of the anti-Synod congregations joined forces with the Swedish Augustana Synod, only to leave it after a decade and split into two opposing factions. One large chapter is the story of a union that split on the rocks of the ownership of a seminary — Augsburg, in Minneapolis.

In an effective way the authors have shown how a third party, one of conciliation, gradually grew to become the organization in which the opposing parties could find a common center. After a partial union in 1890 the churches came together in a more complete union in 1917, and after that the Evangelical Lutheran Church brought most of the Norwegians into one body. In this year, 1960, it joined with one group of German background and one of Danish to become the American Lutheran Church.

To the non-theological reader there is a great deal of historical material which also should be of interest. The union of 1917 represented widespread church activity among almost seven thousand congregations. The various

parts of the church built up a strong educational system, with colleges such as Luther in Iowa and St. Olaf in Minnesota. An impressive number of homes for children, for aged, of hospitals and even of deaconess institutes contributed to the American social system.

America has been made up of immigrant groups such as the Norwegian. The character of the Norwegian-Americans has been largely determined by religious convictions, and the story of this church among them has given American church history a valuable contribution. We do well to ponder the period of events and personalities described in these two volumes as we try to understand the character of America.

CONRAD BERGENDOFF
Augustana College

COLONEL ELMER ELLSWORTH

By Ruth Painter Randall. (Little, Brown and Co.: Boston, 1960. Pp. 295. \$5.00.)

Elmer Ellsworth has long been identified in history by the brief statement that is used as a part of the subtitle to this book, "Lincoln's Friend and First Hero of the Civil War." And that is about all that was generally known about him.

Few people were aware of what his association with Lincoln had been or how it began. Fewer still knew that Ellsworth was the popular idol of his time — the Elvis Presley or more aptly, perhaps, the

Doug Fairbanks of a century ago. Actually there was quite a resemblance to the latter. Ellsworth, who was a muscular five feet, six inches tall, was described by a contemporary as having "a well-balanced head crowned by a wealth of dark brown hair that fell in careless clinging curls about his neck, eyes of dark hazel" and "teeth of dazzling whiteness." Incidentally, the idea that the women of a century ago would

only sigh at a distance over a sight such as that — in a uniform, yet — is far from correct. But Elmer, in the absence of the yet-to-be-invented ball bat, kept them off with his cast-iron code of chivalric honor.

In correcting the neglect of Elmer, Mrs. Randall has revealed a hero who would make Phil the Fiddler or any other of Horatio Alger's boys look like a piker in all three departments of hardship, determination and success.

Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth was born April 11, 1837, in Malta, Saratoga County, New York — he transposed his given names when he was about fifteen to avoid being confused with his father, who was Ephraim D. The father was a tailor by trade, but the panic of 1837 resulted in a great lack of interest in new clothes so he was reduced to peddling oysters and doing odd jobs.

At the age of ten Elmer became a clerk in a grocery store — the first of numerous and varied jobs that were to take him to Troy, New York; Kenosha, Wisconsin; New York City and then to Chicago. Almost from the beginning he knew he wanted to be a "military man," and, while spending much of his time in self-education, he always kept this ultimate goal in mind. When he arrived in Chicago in 1854, that city already had a number of colorfully uniformed volunteer military companies. These were primarily social or-

ganizations; their armories were the men's clubhouses and they entertained with elaborate balls and banquets. Huge, enthusiastic crowds turned out for the drilling contests between rival companies, and there was a demand for the unusual in uniforms and military formations.

Such conditions were made to order for Ellsworth, who was soon busy as a drillmaster. When he heard about the Algerian Zouave drill that was used by a French unit in the Crimean War (1853-1856), he sent to France for books about it and learned French so that he could read them. The Zouave idea was an immediate success — with its colorful uniform of baggy trousers, loose jacket and collarless shirt and its spirited gymnastic drill.

In addition to his Chicago company Ellsworth introduced the Zouave system to units in Madison, Wisconsin, Rockford, and Lake Forest. In the summer of 1858 he met and fell in love with fifteen-year-old Caroline Spafford, daughter of a Rockford banker. His correspondence with "Dearest Carrie," which was to last the rest of his life, reveals much of what is known about him.

In the spring of 1859 Carrie's father told Elmer that he would make a more acceptable son-in-law if he had a profession and suggested that he become a lawyer. Accordingly Elmer arranged to do odd jobs in a law office in return

for the use of the books and a place to study. Except for an occasional assignment at copying legal papers he had no income, and he existed on crackers and water and slept on the office floor. He kept a diary from April 11 to August 25, 1859, of this period which reveals much about his trials and temptations that he did not put into his letters.

Soon after beginning his law studies Ellsworth was offered the command of a military company that was on the verge of disbanding. He agreed to stay until after a July 4 celebration, but that was such a success that it brought other exhibitions and more work for the commander. The company, the United States Zouave Cadets, won the title of best-drilled military unit in the country, and the commander was made Assistant Adjutant General and Paymaster General of Illinois. In connection with the latter assignment Ellsworth went to Springfield in December, 1859. There he met Abraham Lincoln and Governor William H. Bissell, and began a friendship with John Hay and John G. Nicolay, who were to become Lincoln's secretaries in Washington.

Beginning on July 2, 1860, the Zouave Cadets made a 3,000-mile, six weeks' tour of the country in defense of their drilling championship. Their exhibitions in twenty cities won column after column of newspaper and magazine praise;

they became the nation's heroes and their leader, as John Hay said, was "the most talked-of man in the country."

Ellsworth, who had made several trips to Springfield during the year and had talked to Lincoln, returned in September to take up his law studies in the office of the presidential candidate. He may have done some studying, but during the campaign he made a number of speeches for Lincoln, and after the election he was busy drafting and lobbying for an Illinois militia law. When Lincoln went to Washington, Ellsworth accompanied him as security officer.

With war threatening and the capital unprotected Ellsworth did what he thought would bring the quickest results: he went to New York and raised a regiment from members of the city's fire department — the group he considered the most likely military material. He had these Fire Zouaves trained, equipped and back in Washington by May 2.

For the next three weeks a Confederate flag could be seen flying above the Marshall House, a hotel in Alexandria, Virginia, across the Potomac from Washington. This flag irritated Ellsworth so much that on the morning of May 24, when Northern troops moved across the river, he stopped at the hotel and took it down even before he cut the telegraph lines, which had been one of the objects of the raid. As he was coming down the

stairs with the flag, he was shot and killed by the proprietor of the hotel, James W. Jackson. Thus Colonel Ellsworth became the first officer fatality of the Civil War.

A funeral service was held at the White House, followed by another in New York City and a third at Albany, and finally he was buried at Mechanicsville, New York.

The main source for Mrs. Randall's book was the approximately one hundred Ellsworth letters in the Illinois State Historical Library. These are principally

Elmer's letters to Carrie — her letters to him are not known to exist. Much of this material is autobiographical and the letters run as long as fifteen pages. Other manuscripts were found in the New York State Library, the Chicago Historical Society, the Lincoln National Life Foundation and Lincoln College. Since the author does not stray far from the text of the source materials, the book has a more romantic touch than it otherwise might have had. There are about twenty pictures and the book has a good index.

H. F. R.

NUSSBAUMS: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF NIKLAUS AND ANNA BARBARA FLICKIGER NUSSBAUM AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

By Ben Nussbaum. (Privately printed by the author [Fairbury, Ill., 1959]. Pp. 39.)

This booklet was published by the grandson of Niklaus and Anna Nussbaum, who in 1856 left their native Switzerland and cast their lot in the United States, believed to be the haven of rest and refuge for the oppressed from this or that "Old Country."

With their four children, the Nussbaums embarked upon a sailing vessel from Le Havre, France, and landed at New Orleans forty-four days later. Unable to speak English and with little money, the family made their way northward on a Mississippi River steamboat to Hannibal, Missouri, which was near the home of Adam Nuss-

baum, a brother of Niklaus.

The most dramatic episode in their up-river trip occurred when the boat struck a submerged rock. The bow, fortunately, stood out of the water, and there the passengers and crew crowded until they were rescued by a passing steamboat the next day. Months later the family's trunks, beautifully designed and handmade in Switzerland, were retrieved, but the contents were ruined. Descendants of Niklaus and Anna in Fairbury, Illinois, still have these trunks.

From Hannibal the Nussbaums went to New Market, Missouri —

a town no longer in existence — where the father followed his trade as a tailor, but his earnings were scanty.

After the Civil War began, most of Nussbaum's customers were soldiers who wanted their uniforms mended or buttons attached. Most of them either did not pay the harassed tailor, or offered him a large bill which he was unable to change.

In 1863 the family moved to Peoria, Illinois; in 1865 they moved on to Metamora, and in 1868 to Fairbury, where the father and mother died and are buried, and where their descendants live today. This little book was written as a tribute to the author's grandparents whose courage insured "that future generations of Nussbaums might have an easier and better way of life."

C. C. BURFORD

THE HERITAGE OF THE MIDDLE WEST

Edited by John J. Murray. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1958. Pp. 303. \$4.00.)

THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY, A CASE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY IN A FRONTIER COUNTY

By Merle Curti. (Stanford University Press: Stanford, Calif., 1959. Pp. 448. \$8.50.)

The Heritage of the Middle West and *The Making of An American Community* represent two contrasting types of historical writing in regional and local history. *The Heritage* is a collection of essays written for the Coe College conference on the Heritage of the Middle West. What contributor Paul Sharp calls the "imprecision, and . . . public relations connotations" of the word heritage have not deterred several historians from wrestling with the political rhapsodies and economic folklore concerning the Middle West. In examining factors which have produced "distinguishing characteristics" of the region, the twelve contributors discuss influences of

the Old World and the frontier, economic and political factors, communitarianism, immigration, religious and philosophic thought, literature, higher education, art and the historical significance of the region. Most of the essays make special reference to Iowa and include footnote references to secondary sources. The contributions on politics by John Hicks, communitarianism by Arthur Bestor, philosophy by Joseph Blau and literature by John Flanagan stand out in a somewhat uneven collection. Professor Hicks urges midwestern historians to turn their attention to the post-frontier period, urbanization and business history. In an apocalyptic essay,

Vaclav Benes undertakes the difficult task of distinguishing immigrants and refugees. Joseph Blau contributes the interesting theory that Abraham Lincoln was "the spiritual center of our American history." George Kingman listens to the "simple, direct story" told to him by museum artifacts. Though the editor condemns "the insidious collectivist doctrines . . . which have so sorely plagued the world," this example of historical collectivism should raise the level of future discussions of the Middle West.

The Making of An American Community uses census schedules, local records, statistical methods and machine data processing to test various interpretations of the Turner thesis. Professor Curti and his associates have selected Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, from 1850 to 1880 as the place for their study of frontier democracy. Analyzing social and educational conditions, population mobility, property ownership and participation in government, the authors conclude that the accessibility of low-priced land promoted economic equality, which was followed by political democracy. The book contains a few difficult graphs and some atrocious writ-

ing, as on page 426 — "One reason why our leaders had more property than nonleaders is of course that one criterion for selecting leaders was possession of more than average total property. But that alone could not explain the difference." The book, and especially the chapter on "Choosing Officials," would have benefited from careful editing. Certain local records and records of state and federal land offices would have clarified points which are the subject of speculation in the book.

The important contribution of this work is not its interpretation or support of the Turner thesis but its application of statistical methods to the study of local history. As we enter an era when many records are kept on magnetic tape and a machine can read and print 2,400 typewritten words a minute, historians should re-examine their traditional research methods. Dr. Curti has also recognized the importance of local history. Not since Joseph Schafer's *Domesday Books* has a historian applied data contained in federal census schedules to a detailed county or regional study.

MAYNARD BRICHFORD
Madison, Wisconsin

News and Comment

Regional Meeting at Shawneetown Sesquicentennial

With a program ranging from such frivolous juvenile activities as bubble-gum-blowing contests to lectures by prominent historical scholars Shawneetown celebrated its sesquicentennial anniversary on July 1-4. Included were the traditional crowning of a queen, beard-growing contests, parades, fireworks displays, a carnival, the cutting of a mammoth birthday cake (this one weighed 300 pounds), a historical pageant and oratory by office holders and seekers.

In conjunction with the observance, the Illinois State Historical Society held a regional meeting on July 1-2, which consisted of four formal sessions, two luncheons and a tour of historic sites in the Shawneetown area.

Welcoming the Society at its opening session at 11 A.M., Friday in the Gallatin County Courthouse were Mayor C. L. Clayton of Old Shawneetown, Mayor Einar Dyrhopp of New Shawneetown, and Father John Stallings, general chairman of the sesquicentennial program. Clyde C. Walton, Executive Director of the Society, then introduced the first speaker, Dr. William A. Pitkin of Southern Illinois University, who discussed the history of Shawnee-

town during the Civil War period. The southeastern section of Illinois had many Southern sympathizers, Dr. Pitkin pointed out, but nevertheless it furnished more than its proportionate share of Union soldiers. Particularly interesting to the audience was Dr. Pitkin's account of the war service of Gallatin County's General Michael K. Lawler.

Luncheon for approximately seventy-five Society members and guests was served in the cafeteria of the high school at New Shawneetown, following the morning session. After luncheon, Society guests remained at the high school, where they heard a talk on one of the most dramatic and tragic events in southern Illinois history: "The Great Flood of '37." The speaker was Curtis G. Small of Harrisburg, editor and manager of the *Harrisburg Daily Register*. The most disastrous of all Ohio River floods — because of the great loss of life and property — took place in 1898, Small said; and although the levees were built higher and higher, they did not prevent the flood waters from reaching the edge of Harrisburg, twenty-two miles away, in 1913. Small's story of the 1937 disaster was illustrated by numerous

photographs of flood scenes. The speaker was introduced by John W. Allen, of Carbondale, a past president of the State Society.

Still other facets of southern Illinois history and topography were revealed to those who joined the bus tour at the conclusion of Small's talk. The two buses making the tour passed through New Shawneetown en route to the picturesque town of Cypress in Johnson County, thence to the Michael K. Lawler monument in Equality, the "Old Slave House" east of Equality, where John Crenshaw lived and where he housed the Negro slaves who worked in the government salt works which he leased. One of these works, which is called Nigger Springs, south of the Crenshaw house, was next on the itinerary. From there the buses went on to the beautiful lake at Pounds Hollow, six miles south of the Saline River, and to a nearby observation tower. The group then hurried on to Old Shawneetown where a time capsule ceremony took place. Returning to New Shawneetown, the buses passed the John Marshall residence, the old State Bank building and Westwood Cemetery north of

town, where Revolutionary War General Thomas Posey, Senator John McLean and other prominent Illinoisans are buried.

On Saturday the program was resumed at the courthouse, opening at 9:30 A.M. with a talk on the early legal history of southern Illinois. Prepared by Chief Justice Byron O. House of the Illinois Supreme Court, the speech was delivered by his son, James B. House. It included fascinating accounts of early territorial courts and sketches of some of the outstanding lawyers and judges of the region. The morning's second speaker was Dr. Frederick T. Wessel, supervisor of music for the Shawneetown school system. His speech on "Shawneetown and the New Harmony Society" dealt with the tangled and often exciting relations between the settlers at New Harmony and their commercial agents at Shawneetown, who marketed their produce. Luncheon on Saturday at the Shawneetown High School ended the Society's regional meeting, although many members stayed on for the float parade, at which Governor William G. Stratton served as grand master.

Cairo Point-Fort Defiance Park Dedicated

The point of land where the Ohio and Mississippi rivers meet — the site of historic fortifications from the time of the French occupation

down to the Civil War — was officially dedicated as Cairo Point-Fort Defiance State Park on Sunday, July 3, 1960, by Governor

William G. Stratton and other state and local officials.

Merrill C. Currier, chairman of the Cairo Point-Fort Defiance State Park Committee, presided at the ceremonies. After the invocation by the Rev. LaVon Bayler, Mayor Robert Peddie of Cairo and Hirschel Eichhorn, president of the Cairo Chamber of Commerce, extended greetings of welcome to the Governor, who addressed the audience of some three thousand people. The Governor's dedication speech was followed by another by Glen D. Palmer, director of the Department of Conservation, which administers the Division of Parks and Memorials. After the formal speeches, the Governor turned over the first spadeful of earth at the site of the park memorial, which will be a large concrete structure in the shape of the prow of a boat. The first floor of the building will be entirely open. The enclosed second floor will stand on concrete pillars high above the ground as a protection from flood waters. This second floor will house administrative offices, a concession stand and rest rooms, and the roof will

be used as an observatory platform. The new park area has already been landscaped, and picnic facilities are available.

The dedication ceremonies came to a close with the benediction by the Rev. Fred Kilfoil and music by the Screaming Eagle Band of the 101st Airborne Division, Fort Campbell, Kentucky. The band also played an hour-long concert, from 1:00 to 2:00 P.M., before the ceremonies began.

Opening of the new park at this time, just before nationwide Civil War Centennial observances begin, will be especially pleasing to Civil War students, who will now be able to visit the area of the famed Fort Defiance, which hitherto had been virtually inaccessible. Cairo was the staging ground for General Grant's first expedition against the Confederacy in the fall of 1861 as well as for his later and major penetrations of the South. But even before Grant entered the army in the spring of 1861, the point at Cairo had been fortified and was playing a crucial part in the war by keeping the Ohio and Mississippi closed to Confederate river traffic.

Addams and Bryan Centennial Observances

Many Illinois communities, along with those in other states, have already marked the centennials of the birth of two famed Illinoisans — Jane Addams and William Jen-

nings Bryan — and other observances are scheduled for later in the year.

In Salem, the birthplace of Bryan, the Daughters of the Amer-

ican Revolution held open house on Saturday, May 19, at the two-story frame structure in which Bryan was born March 18, 1860. Bryan deeded the home to the city as a museum, and on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, area school children made a special pilgrimage to the site.

Bryan's son, William J. Bryan, Jr., spoke at a special centennial program in Lincoln, Nebraska, where his father had long made his home; and a granddaughter, Mrs. Rudd Brown, delivered the Founders Day address at Bryan College, Dayton, Tennessee.

Editorial writers for newspapers throughout the state noted the anniversary and commented on Bryan's contribution to the nation. Syndicated columnist David V. Felts of Decatur (a former director of the State Historical Society) quoted a Salem paper as having reminded him of the often-overlooked coincidence that John T. Scopes was also a native of Salem, Illinois, and was a graduate of the high school there. Scopes was the Dayton, Tennessee, teacher who was the defendant in the famous trial in which Bryan was the prosecutor and Clarence Darrow the attorney for the defense.

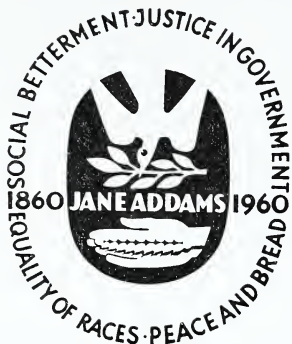
Memorial programs honoring Jane Addams have been held in almost every sizable city in Illinois. One of the ceremonies that would probably have appealed most to Miss Addams took place May 19 at Hull House, where pupils of

eleven Chicago elementary schools celebrated the anniversary of her birth. Mrs. John B. Allen, a grandniece of Miss Addams and a member of the Chicago Board of Education, was the speaker.

Edith S. Sampson, Chicago attorney and former alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, gave the principal address at a Jane Addams centennial program in Springfield on April 28. Twenty-one civic organizations joined in sponsoring the event. Howard C. Sanders, of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare and a former social worker at Hull House, was master of ceremonies. Former Sangamon County Judge Harlington Wood, Sr., introduced the speaker.

The most extensive commemorative ceremonies were held in Rockford in April, when Rockford College — Miss Addams' alma mater — combined its Jane Addams centennial program with the inauguration of President John Howard. Opening the ceremonies on Friday, April 29, was the formal presentation of the Jane Addams Collection to the college. Later that day a symposium on "Jane Addams: Today And Tomorrow" included discussions by U.S. Senator Paul H. Douglas; Dr. Mary Ashby Cheek, president emeritus of the college; Russell Ward Ballard, director of Hull House; and Dr. Eveline M. Burns, professor of sociology at the New York School of Social Work.

The Jane Addams Medal was presented to Alice Koller Leopold, assistant to the Secretary of Labor and Director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor,



The Jane Addams Centennial seal

at a program that night. Miss Leopold was the principal speaker on that occasion. Saturday's events included a chapel program entitled "As I Remember." Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas was chairman; and the participants — all of whom had been closely associated with Miss Addams — included Mrs. John B. Allen, Dr. Jessie F. Binford, Henry P. Chandler and Lea Demarest Taylor.

Following the program more than one hundred fifty visitors to the campus traveled to Cedarville to view Miss Addams' birthplace and grave. At the graveside the Rev. Joseph C. Cleveland of the Second Congregational Church conducted a memorial service. Lunch was served the visitors at the Jane Addams homestead, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Ennenga. Ending the week-end's activities was the inauguration Saturday night of Dr. Howard. Dr. Mildred F. Berry was chairman of the Jane Addams centennial, and Dr. Mary Dearing Lewis was chairman of the inaugural committee.

Observances of the Jane Addams anniversary throughout the nation are being assisted by an organization known as the "Jane Addams Centennial — 1960" which has its headquarters at Jane Addams House, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania. It is sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Jane Addams Peace Association.

Twelfth Annual Student Historian Award Day

Governor William G. Stratton "Student Historian of the Year" awards were presented to twenty-six teen-agers at the twelfth annual Student Historian Day ceremonies held on May 20 in the Illinois Building on the State Fair-

grounds in Springfield. The awards were based upon articles published in *Illinois History* magazine during the 1959-1960 school year. The magazine is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society. Four of the twenty-six



Newton C. Farr, left, chairman of the board of trustees of the Historical Library, presents the Sang Award to LaRoy Morning, assistant principal of Abbott Junior High School, Elgin.

students and two teachers also received special citations and cash prizes of \$25 each.

One of the two most coveted prizes — the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award — went to fourteen-year-old Caroline Gilster of Chester for her story of the Kaskaskia Indians who once lived on land that is now part of a farm her family owns. The article, titled "A Clay Pipe and Spotted Ponies," was judged the student contribution of most general interest appearing in the magazine during the year.

The Ralph E. Francis Award, for the year's best-written article, was won by Helen Horney, 15, a sophomore at Springfield High

School, whose biographical sketch of Senator James Hamilton Lewis in the October issue was called "Pink Whiskers in Politics."

The two other cash prizes for students were selected from articles appearing in a specified issue of the magazine. The Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award — for the best article on Lincoln in the February issue — was won by Virginia Spry, 14, an eighth-grade student at Bloomington Junior High School. Her article discussed the famous "Chicken Bone Case," in which Lincoln served as counsel for a physician who was being sued for improperly setting a patient's broken leg. In this case, Virginia pointed out, the future



Helen Horney, left, and Mary Kay Messling of Springfield receive Student Historian of the Year Awards from Lieutenant Governor John W. Chapman. Helen later also won the Ralph E. Francis Award for the year's best-written article.



Lloyd Casey, Sterling Junior High School teacher, right, accepts the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award from Walter E. McBride, past president of the Rock Island Rotary Club.



Historical Society President Ralph G. Newman presents Caroline Gilster of Chester the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award for writing the year's article of greatest general interest.

President not only demonstrated his ability to explain a technical subject in terms any layman could understand but did so with humor, using a chicken bone as an illustration.

Roger English, 14, a student at Central School, Normal, was the winner of the fourth cash prize, the King V. Hostick Award. His article on the *Bloomington Pantagraph* was chosen as the best in the March issue, which had Illinois newspapers as its theme. In addition to the cash prize, Roger received two large Lincoln photographs made from the original

plates which Hostick owns.

The afternoon's program was opened by Lieutenant Governor John William Chapman, who gave a brief address before presenting the Governor's Awards.

The winning articles were chosen by a panel of ten judges from the sixty-eight published during the year. In addition to State Historian Clyde C. Walton and Mrs. Olive S. Foster, editor of *Illinois History*, the judges included several outstanding teachers, school officials, and others prominent in Illinois public affairs. These other members of the panel



Richard S. Hagen, representing the sponsoring group, the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc., presents the Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award to Virginia Spry of Bloomington Junior High School.

were J. Lester Buford, superintendent of schools, Mt. Vernon, and past president of the National Education Association; Miss Frances Chambers, retired teacher, Coolidge Junior High School, Moline; Vincent Y. Dallman, former editor of the *Illinois State Register*, Springfield; Dr. Victor Hicken, professor of history at Western Illinois State University, Macomb; State Representative G. William Horsley, Springfield; Mrs. Mary Jo Ivens, teacher at Bloomington Junior High School; Ralph G. Newman, Chicago, Illinois State Historical Society president; and Dr. Robert M. Sutton, associate dean of the University of Illi-

nois Graduate School. Miss Chambers and Mrs. Ivens won the two cash awards for teachers in 1959.

This year the special prizes for teachers went to two men: Lloyd Casey, social studies teacher in the Sterling Junior High School, and LaRoy Morning, assistant principal of Abbott Junior High School, Elgin. Casey won the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award, presented by the Rotary Club of Rock Island to the teacher who had made the most outstanding contribution to *Illinois History* during the year. Casey has sponsored a junior historian club at his school for five years, and in



PHOTOS BY BILL CALVIN AND WARD JOHNSON, STATE PHOTOGRAPHERS

Roger English of Central School, Normal, right, admires the Lincoln photographs which were a part of the award he received from King V. Hostick, left, dealer in historic manuscripts.

that time his students have had eighteen articles published in the magazine.

Morning received the Philip D. and Elsie O. Sang Award for his long-continued support of the Student Historian Program. He was a social studies teacher at Abbott School for seven years before becoming assistant principal, and in that period his students had thirty articles published in *Illinois History*.

The Sang Award was presented by Newton C. Farr, Chicago, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library. Before making the presentation, he talked briefly on the development of the Student Historian Program

and the growth of *Illinois History*. By the end of the school year, Mr. Farr said, circulation had reached more than 26,000, with the magazine going to 1,894 schools and libraries in 636 Illinois communities.

Besides Casey and Morning, nineteen other teachers, whose students were award winners this year, received a year's membership in the State Historical Society, also the gift of Mr. Sang, a Society director. The honored teachers were Mrs. Alice Cade, Central Junior High School, Normal; Mrs. Ivetta Calhoon, Bloomington High School; Mrs. Treva Cratsenberg, John Deere Junior High School, Moline; Mrs. Muriel East-

ham, Springfield High School; Mrs. Leslie Ellis, Chester High School; John Erickson, Lombard Junior High School, Galesburg; Katheryn Grampp, Cossett Avenue School, La Grange; Mrs. Beatrice Hall, Canton Junior High School; Mrs. Mary Jo Ivens, Bloomington Junior High School; Mrs. Margaret Swim, Washington School, Dixon; Miss Marion McKenzie, Roycemore School for Girls, Evanston; Mother Mary Aloysia, Ursuline Academy, Springfield; Richard Metcalfe, Sterling Junior High School; Miss Maud Irene Nelson, Carl Schurz High School, Chicago; Edmund Parrett, Polo Community High School; Lewis M. Robinson, Joliet Township High School; Miss Ruth Stroud, University High School, Normal; Garland Taylor, Spoon River Valley High School, Fairview; and Miss Margaret Werling, Upper Grade School, Flossmoor.

Mrs. Cade — the teacher of Roger English, who won the Hostick Award — died May 4 after a short illness. Her membership in the Society was accepted by her husband, Carroll B. Cade, who attended the Award Day ceremonies. In her honor Central Junior High School at Normal has established a scholarship fund to be awarded annually to the most outstanding history student at the school.

Three of this year's student historians also received awards in

1959. They are David Poole of Polo, Jane Wallace of Bloomington and Helen Horney of Springfield. Helen won the Hostick Award last year and thus becomes the second student in the history of the program to win two cash awards; Carole Benson of Sterling won the Pratt Award in 1958 and the Hauberg Award in 1957.

Certificate winners who did not receive cash prizes were each presented an autographed copy of Earl S. Miers's *The Great Rebellion*. The books were the gift of Society President Newman and went to the following students:

BLOOMINGTON: Holly Rust, Bloomington Junior High School; Jane Wallace, Bloomington High School.

CANTON: Judy Knowles, Canton Junior High School.

CHICAGO: Jack Freckmann, Carl Schurz High School.

DIXON: Donald Koesler, Washington School.

ELGIN: Bonnie Brady and Laura Simon, Abbott Junior High School.

EVANSTON: Sheila Hobson, Roycemore School for Girls.

FAIRVIEW: Charles Briggs, Spoon River Valley High School.

FLOSSMOOR: Karen Rueter, Upper Grade School.

GALESBURG: Butch Sharick, Lombard Junior High School.

JOLIET: Barbara Craig and Joyce Engelhardt, Joliet Township High School.

LA GRANGE: Katheryn Taaffe, Cossett Avenue School.

MOLINE: Carol Radovich, John Deere Junior High School.

NORMAL: John Arthur and Sandra K. Briggs, University High School.

POLO: David Poole, Polo Community High School.

SPRINGFIELD: Mary Kay Messling, Ursuline Academy.

STERLING: Karen Liederman, Loretta Smith and Lamont Hubbard, Sterling Junior High School.

John Arthur, of University High School, Normal, was the only one of the twenty-six award winners who was unable to be present; he is now a United States Marine, stationed at San Diego, California. A Blackfoot Indian, John wrote for the November issue (on In-

dians of Illinois) about the tribal customs that have influenced his life as a twentieth-century Indian.

Among the guests at the ceremonies were Mrs. Phyllis Connolly, former editor of *Illinois History*, and her nine-month-old daughter, Anne Marie. Attendance was larger this year than ever before, with delegations of students from many of the schools which are active in the Student Historian Program.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

The Aurora Historical Museum held its annual open house, May 1-8, under the sponsorship of the Historical Society and the Cosmopolitan Club. During "open house" week, the museum and the adjoining carriage house, now a transportation museum, were open each night.

The Society's board of directors voted at its April meeting to work for naming a new West Side school in honor of Frank H. Hall, who first came to Aurora as principal of West High School in 1868. In 1875 he went to Sugar Grove, where he founded one of the state's pioneer industrial schools. Later, while serving as superintendent of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind at Jacksonville, Hall became famous for his invention of a stereotype-maker and Braille writer (see Walter B. Hendrickson's article,

"The Three Lives of Frank H. Hall," Autumn, 1956, *Journal*, pages 271-93).

Fifty years ago, in 1910, Dr. John C. West suffered a coronary attack in Chicago and was advised to resume his medical practice in a small town. This he did, and at the May 1 meeting of the Batavia Historical Society he discussed his half-century of work in Batavia.

In addition to Dr. West's talk, the meeting heard a brief history of the Bethany Lutheran Church, where the session was held. Speaker was Mrs. Michael Schomig, who took her information from a history in Swedish written by her stepfather, the Rev. Andrew Challman. Slides of scenic and historic sites in the Batavia area were shown by Mrs. Walter Wood.

On display were a set of sur-

gical instruments used during the Civil War and now owned by Dr. A. G. Baxter, a miniature apothecary shop, antique apothecary jars, several early prescription books and other drug store equipment. Mrs. Elaine Cannon was in charge of the special exhibit.

Ideas that shaped the future of Illinois were discussed by Dr. Robert M. Sutton at the May meeting of the Bond County Historical Society in Greenville. A director of the State Historical Society, Dr. Sutton is associate professor of history and associate dean of the Graduate College at the University of Illinois.

Guests at the meeting were members of the Greenville College chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, national history honorary society.

Mr. and Mrs. John Tripp were hosts to the Boone County Historical Society at both the April and May meetings. In April the Tripps also presented the program, showing slides of historic sites in the East. Axel Rehnberg, past president of the Swedish Historical Society, was the guest speaker in May.

Cairo's annual Magnolia Festival was held on the third week end in May this year. Climaxing the activities was the Queen's Ball in the Armory Saturday night, May 21, at which a Magnolia Queen was crowned by the mystic King River.

Proceeds from the ball go to the support of Magnolia Manor, home of the Cairo Historical Association.

The career of Clark Robinson Griggs, Illinois legislator, Champaign County landowner and one-time mayor of Urbana, was reviewed before the Champaign County Historical Society on May 23 by Dr. Charles L. Stewart, emeritus professor of agricultural economics at the University of Illinois. It was principally through Griggs's efforts in the General Assembly, Dr. Stewart pointed out, that the University was located in Urbana.

Mrs. Marguerite J. Pease, director of the Illinois Historical Survey at the University and chairman of the Society's archives committee, discussed the sources for Champaign County history at the March 28 meeting.

Mrs. Pease, Mrs. Carl Creamer and Marion C. Moore were elected members of the board of governors at the March meeting. On April 4 they joined the other board members — Olin L. Browder, Chancy L. Finrock, Natalia Belting, P. L. Windsor, Nathan Rice and Karl B. Lohmann — at an organizational meeting. Lohmann was re-elected president of the Society and Browder was re-elected vice-president. Miss Mary Yearsley was named secretary and Mrs. Vereta McGuire was chosen treasurer.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the South East National Bank of Chicago was observed at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn, held at the Woodlawn Branch Library, 6247 Kimbark, Chicago, on May 13. Frank L. Moran, vice-president and cashier of the bank, was guest speaker.

Bernard Wax, field representative for the Illinois State Historical Library, addressed the Du Page County Historical Society meeting on May 29. He discussed "Historic Sites in and around Springfield."

How to use abstracts of title in historical research was explained by Attorney Harold Taylor at the March 22 meeting of the Effingham Regional Historical Society.

The Evanston Historical Society moved into its new home — the Charles Gates Dawes mansion at 225 Greenwood Street — on May 5 and 6. Assisting in the move from the Society's old headquarters at 1735 Railroad Avenue were members of the recently formed Guild of the Evanston Historical Society and the Evanston Junior League.

The Guild was formally organized on April 29 for the purpose of assisting the Historical Society in its new headquarters. Mrs. Ernest G. McEwen was elected president; Mrs. Joseph D. Landes, Jr., vice-president; Mrs. Sheldon S. Lee,

treasurer; Mrs. Frank B. Foster, recording secretary; and Mrs. Herbert S. Philbrick, Jr., corresponding secretary.

The Dawes mansion has been leased by Northwestern University to the Society for \$1.00 a year, and the Society, in turn, is renting some of the space to the Junior League. Preparations for the occupancy of the house have been underway for over a year, Society President Edson Brock said. In addition to the money received from the Junior League, the city of Evanston contributes to the maintenance of the home through the lease of the grounds from the Society as a city park.

On May 28 Society representatives joined city officials and members of the Evanston branch of the National Society of New England Women in dedicating a historical marker at the site of Evanston's first public school, which was located at the northwest corner of Ridge Avenue and Greenleaf Street.

The city of DeKalb was host to the annual summer festival of the Illinois Finnish-American Historical Society, held Sunday, June 12. Dr. A. A. Rautalahti of Waukegan, former pastor of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church, DeKalb, and Ernest L. Knuti, Finnish consul in Chicago, were speakers at the afternoon program. Other events included worship services at the Bethlehem Church, a fam-

ily style dinner and athletic contests.

At the business meeting, representatives of chapters in DeKalb, Waukegan, Chicago and Joliet discussed work on a proposed history of Finnish immigrants to Illinois.

Historical sources of the area were discussed at the April 18 meeting of the Historical Society of the Fort Hill Country. Society Historian George S. Brainerd was in charge of the meeting, to which members brought photographs, newspapers, books and other material relating particularly to the history of Ivanhoe and Fremont Center.

Members of the Galena Historical Society were treated to a special program on June 13, when Mrs. Margaret Brown Klapthor, curator of the White House Ladies Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, presented "America in Costume: The White House Ladies' Dresses." Mrs. Klapthor was in Illinois to take part in the Historic Preservation Workshop, held June 10-12 in Springfield.

At the Society's annual meeting on June 2, plans were initiated for Galena's observance of the Civil War Centennial. Mrs. George T. Millhouse, Jr., president, was in charge.

Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant for the Division of Parks and Memorials of the State

Department of Conservation, presented films of recent history-connected events in Galena at the May 9 meeting of the Society. These included dedication of the State Historical Society marker at the DeSoto House (see June, 1960, *Dispatch*) and the annual Boy Scout pilgrimage to Galena's historic sites.

One of Geneva's century-old houses, built of stone from a Fox River quarry, was honored by the Geneva Historical Society with the presentation of a bronze plaque at the seventeenth annual meeting of the Society on May 22. The house, built by John Reed about 1855, is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Gates Clancy. Mrs. Margaret Allan, Society secretary, gave a detailed history of the house and its occupants before the plaque was presented.

The program featured a talk on the early history of Kane County by Miss Irma DuPre of Dundee. The speaker is the author of *The Romance of Dundee Township*, written in 1935 to commemorate the centennial of that community.

At the business meeting Dr. Charles Lytle was re-elected president of the Society. Other officers elected are Frank Jarvis, first vice-president; Oliver Adamson, second vice-president; Mrs. Margaret Allan, secretary; Miss Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; and two three-year directors, Miss Mary Wheeler and Gordon Fehr. Incumbent di-

rectors are Edith B. Simon, William K. Bullock, Katie L. Hawkins and Julia D. White. The nominating committee included Miss Mabel Anderson, chairman, Miss Myrtle McIntosh and Miss Jeanita Peterson.

Mrs. Lena Graham will head the Land of Goshen Historical Society, Edwardsville, in the 1960-1961 Society year. Other new officers elected at the final meeting of the year held Sunday, May 1, were Mrs. Gladys B. Bartholomew, secretary-treasurer; Robert C. Lange, program chairman; and Miss Jessie E. Springer, assistant program chairman.

Mrs. V. H. Mindrup presented a paper on the history of Edwardsville churches after 1870, and Mrs. Louise Ahrens, retiring president, conducted a discussion of the Society's plans for publishing a sesquicentennial history of Edwardsville in 1962. The publication committee includes Miss Ella Tunnell, Mrs. Mindrup and J. K. Roedel.

The Edwardsville legal profession was the subject of the Society's April meeting, with Attorney David L. Simpson as the speaker.

Horace Hickok of Troy Grove and Ray Richardson of Tonica were honored by the La Salle County Historical Society "for their long and faithful service to the society and to their commu-

nity" at the Society's meeting on May 15 at Tonica. Each of the men was presented a copy of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission's new two-volume edition of *Lincoln Day by Day*.

Richardson was one of the speakers on the program. A newspaperman for sixty years, he discussed historic events that have occurred during his career and related some of the most unforgettable experiences of his work as publisher of the *Tonica News*. The day's other speaker was Dr. Hugh Black, also of Tonica, who talked on "Sunken Spanish Treasure on the Coast of Florida."

Hostesses for the meeting were Mrs. Romeyn Ford, Mrs. Harold Janz, Mrs. Ernest Pletsch and Mrs. Robert Schaefer. Miss Jane Mills of La Salle, Society president, and Mrs. Janz presided at the tea tables.

Foster Township was the community featured by the Madison County Historical Society at its annual meeting on May 15. Located in the northwestern part of the county, the township observed its centennial in 1958. Three aspects of its history were discussed at the Society meeting: Cyrus Johnson, a descendant of one of the township's early settlers, talked on "Negro History of Foster Township." Leroy Dalhaus, director of music in the Roxana schools, talked on "The Fosterburg Community Band," which

claims to be the oldest band in the state. And five panelists recalled the 1948 tornado, which destroyed almost 80 per cent of the town of Fosterburg. They were Robert H. Legate, moderator, Catherine Chalengsworth and Esther E. Waggoner, all of Fosterburg; Raymond Ashlock, Alton; and the Rev. T. J. Buckton, Springfield.

Thomas N. Harris, township supervisor, welcomed the three hundred guests to the meeting, which was held in the Fosterburg Grade School. Mrs. A. Austin Lewis of the Madison County Society gave the response, and the Rev. Roy Carlson of the First Baptist Church, Fosterburg, gave the invocation. The Fosterburg Harmony Four — Fred Hurst, Marion Paul, Ralph Porter and John Thompson — presented vocal selections, accompanied by Mrs. Marion Paul. Society President Burton C. Bernard presided.

A history of the Illinois River bridge, lock and dam at Henry, Illinois, was presented at the April 25 meeting of the Marshall County Historical Society, held at the home of John Boose in Henry. Boose, who presented the program, told his audience that 1960 is the ninetieth anniversary of the original bridge at Henry, which was the first to span the river between Peoria and La Salle. The bridge, lock and dam were all completed in a three-year period between 1869 and 1871.

Four members of the George Norris Legion Post Auxiliary, New Windsor, presented a history of Rivoli Township at the May 3 meeting of Mercer County Historical Society in Aledo. The speakers were Mrs. Rex Garrett, who talked on political organization; Miss Mildred Coleman, on church history; Mrs. William Johnson, school history; and Mrs. Wayne Hickok, early settlers.

Guest speaker at the Society's April 5 meeting was Richard S. Hagen of the Division of Parks and Memorials of the State Conservation Department, whose subject was the restoration of historic sites in Illinois.

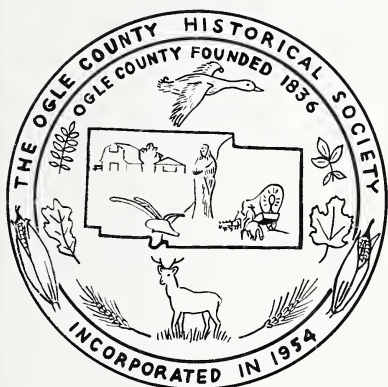
President Archer Sheats conducted a special business meeting on June 7, at which the Society formulated policies for operating the Essley-Noble Memorial Museum (see Winter, 1959, *Journal*, page 578).

The Jacksonville campaign of famed evangelist Billy Sunday was the topic of the principal address at the April 22 dinner meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. The speaker, Dr. Clyde Steckel, chaplain and professor of religion at Illinois College, entitled his talk "Two Dollars a Soul." Society President Ernest Hoagland conducted the meeting and led the discussion which followed the address. Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library

and former State Society president, recalled attending services conducted by Sunday in Philadelphia and in Springfield, Illinois.

Winners of the Morgan County Society's annual essay contest were also announced at this meeting. First place among eighth-grade entries was taken by Mary Anne Donovan, who wrote on the history of MacMurray College, and second place by Edward Bağale, who wrote on Joseph Capps. Maxine Schulz won first place among seventh-graders for her essay on Illinois College; and second place went to Susan Sorge, whose subject was book binding.

White Rock Burg and Kings, communities in Ogle County, were the subject of the program



*Seal of the Ogle County
Historical Society.*

of the Ogle County Historical Society on May 23. Raymond Buker was the speaker. C. Merle Haselton of Rochelle also displayed his stamp collection at the meeting.

The Ogle County Society is one of the few local organizations in the state to have its own seal. The simple, yet comprehensive, design is the work of Lynda Hoch, of Forrester, now a sophomore at Northern Illinois University (see Summer, 1959, *Journal*, page 353). In it the artist succeeded in combining the past with the present and the cultivated with the wild; the only bit of symbolism that the non-historian might not understand is the figure of a walking plow near the lower edge of the outline of the county. This marks the site of Grand Detour, on the Rock River, where John Deere invented the steel plow.

George W. May is the new president of the Peoria Historical Society. He was elected at the Society's twenty-sixth annual dinner meeting in May. Other new officers include Wayne Buck, vice-president; Mrs. W. D. Ulrich, secretary; James Sedgwick, treasurer; and the following directors: Gerald T. Kelsch, George Parker and Miss Luella Harlan.

Dr. Harold P. Rodes, president of Bradley University, spoke at the meeting on the history of Bradley since its founding in 1897.

The history of the Mormons in Illinois was the subject of the Rev. Ralph Cummins, guest speaker at the Society's March 21 meeting; and on April 18 Ray A. Neumann presented a history of the Peoria Savings and Loan Association.

Calvin Ibendahl entertained the Perry County Historical Society at his historic home south of Tamaroa on April 4. President Albert Teabeau of Du Quoin presided, and the program was given by Mrs. Teabeau and Roger Eaton, who showed slides of southern Illinois birds and discussed their characteristics.

Traditions and customs relating to the American flag were the subject of the guest speaker, Mrs. Otho Harriss, at the Society's first summer meeting, held at the Perry County Fairgrounds, Pinckneyville, on June 6. Also taking part in the program were President Teabeau and Mrs. Dorothy Cooke.

The Randolph County Historical Society's local history seminars have already proved their value, the president, Miss Lily Flynn, reports. At the April 28 meeting, held in Schuline, Wayman Pressley of Makanda, who has organized several tours of southern Illinois, was guest speaker. Less than a month later he organized a tour of Randolph County, at which Society members who had taken the seminar courses served as guides. Some two hundred guests took part in the tour.

On May 28 many Society members who have been engaged in planning for the restoration of the octagonal Charter Oak School at Schuline attended a meeting at McKendree College, Lebanon, conducted by William J. Murtagh

of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The purpose of the meeting was to promote the restoration of the McKendree College chapel.

The Randolph County Society's May meeting was a hamburger fry and pot luck supper held at the Charter Oak School. Special guests at the picnic were the winners of the Society's essay contest on "Why I Think the Charter Oak School Should Be Preserved." Cash prizes of \$7.50, \$5.00 and \$2.50 were presented by Mrs. W. W. Fullerton of Sparta. First-place winner was Cynthia Macieiski, Chester eighth-grader; second was Barbara Wiegard of Evansville; and third, Charles M. Gross of Ruma.

Elroy Hoeb was the principal speaker; his subjects were the old Reily Mill and the Elias Kent Kane house.

Mrs. Myron Eddy spoke on the Talcott family and the founding of Rockton in 1835 at the April 25 meeting of the Rockton Township Historical Society. Mrs. Clifford Olds was hostess for the meeting.

Guest speakers at the May 23 meeting were Mrs. Mary Graham and Mrs. Ethel Haug, who discussed early settlers of Rockton and their descendants. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. William Bigelow.

The Saline County Historical Society will soon join the many other local organizations in the

state that have their own museums. On March 17 the county board of supervisors voted to grant the Society a ninety-nine-year lease, at \$1.00 a year, on the abandoned county farm building, which will be remodeled to serve as a museum and meeting-place for county organizations. The building is a large two-story brick structure located on a one-acre tract southwest of Harrisburg.

In June the Society held its first outdoor meeting at the museum. An unusual program for a historical society followed a pot luck dinner, for all members brought work clothes and tools and spent the time usually devoted to speech-making in removing the museum's old fire escape and preparing the lawn for seeding.

The Society's museum committee is composed of Ray Altmire, chairman, Mrs. Altmire, Don Scott and John Foster. T. Leo Dodd is chairman of the museum selections committee.

Exhibits in the farm museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society provided the theme for the Society's April 8 meeting in Freeport. Mrs. John Woodhouse talked on the Manny family, which manufactured Manny reapers and other farm tools; and O. H. Neiman spoke about early farm machinery and farming in Stephenson County.

Also taking part in the program was Arthur Hassel of Pecatonica,

who has presented a Manny reaper to the farm museum.

Counterfeiting and body-snatching, two kinds of crime that were far more prevalent in the nineteenth century than in the twentieth, were described by Wayne Bastian of Fulton at the Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society meeting on March 15.

Clarence Parks of Polo talked at the April meeting on mill sites and mills in Ogle, Lee and Whiteside counties. His talk was illustrated with slides.

At both the March and April meetings Sterling students who had had articles published in *Illinois History* magazine appeared on the program. In March, Karen Liederman read her story from the Lincoln issue, "You Are There — At the Wigwam," which describes the nomination of Lincoln. In April, Gail Behrens read her article on the early newspapers of Sterling, and Loretta Smith presented her account of the 1906 Rock River ice jam and flood.

President Gunnar Benson, Mrs. Madeleine Nuttall and Frank Duis also took part in the April program, discussing historic books and costumes they had brought to the meeting. Harry McCaslin, chairman, Cora Jacobs and Hilary Devine were elected to name a slate of officers for 1960-1961.

Climaxing the new Society's successful activities of this year was its banquet on May 19 at St.

John's Lutheran Church. After a group of Civil War songs, presented by students from Sterling Junior High School, Colonel William H. Herzog of Chicago addressed the meeting on the life of Abraham Lincoln. The banquet program committee included Richard Metcalfe, chairman, Lloyd Casey, Beulah Elfline, Frances Jones and Charles Speaker.

Officers for the coming year are Benson, president; Metcalfe, vice-president; Ruth Kilgus, secretary; and Lloyd Elfline, treasurer.

Miss Alenia McCord presented a talk on early Illinois newspapers before the Vandalia Historical Society on May 17. At the business meeting Lynn Price was elected president; other Society officers re-elected were Stanley Stewart, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Perkins, secretary; Mrs. Otis Hoffman, treasurer; and Miss Mary Burt-schi, a director.

The program arrangements committee included Miss Maxine Burnside, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Mack, Mrs. Mae Meier, Miss Irene Schenker and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Schulte.

James T. Hickey, curator of the Lincoln Collection at the Illinois State Historical Library, was the speaker at the Wayne County Historical Society meeting on May 2. His talk dealt with the state and national Republican conventions of 1860 and the nomination of Lincoln for the presidency.

More than five hundred guests from eight different states took part in the White County Historical Society's house tour and garden party at the Carmi home of Mrs. Robert Ready Williams on Sunday, June 5.

J. Robert Smith, Society president, announced that the day's program brought in \$672, of which \$446 was in admissions and \$226 in membership dues. The Museum Fund, created for the restoration of the old Ratcliff Inn (see Summer, 1960, *Journal*), has now reached more than \$6,000, Smith reports.

Archaeologist Melvin L. Fowler of Southern Illinois University spoke to the Williamson County Historical Society at its quarterly meeting on April 3. His subject was the Modoc Rock Shelter.

Pamphlet History of Brown County Available

The *Democrat-Message* of Mt. Sterling has published a twenty-page pamphlet titled *A History of the First White Settlers in Ver-*

sailles Township, Brown County, Illinois. The story was told by Robert Nelson McFarland to B. N. Bond, who first published it in the

Versailles Sentinel in 1922. This article was reprinted in the *Democrat-Message* in the summer of 1959 and was soon in such demand that the publishers issued it in

pamphlet form. Copies are available over the counter at \$1.50 each or at \$1.60 if mailed. Address William R. Brooks, *Democrat-Message*, Mt. Sterling, Illinois.

Andover Was Settled 125 Years Ago

The first settler in what was to become the town of Andover in Henry County arrived there 125 years ago, on May 6, 1835. He was Dr. Thomas Baker, generally considered the town's founder, although the community received its greatest impetus from two later groups of immigrants. The first of these — the New York Association organized by the Rev. Ithamar Pillsbury — bought twenty-two sections of land, including the town of Andover, in the fall of

1835. Twelve years later the vanguard of a group of Swedish immigrants arrived, with others following soon after, under the leadership of the Rev. L. P. Esbjorn and Jonas Anderson. The Andover Swedish Lutheran Church, which Esbjorn organized, celebrates its one hundred tenth anniversary this year. The community's Swedish Methodist Church is several years older, having been organized in 1849 by the Rev. Jonas Hedstrom.

Historymobile Adds to Executive Director's Chores

Addition of the Robert R. McCormick Historymobile to the facilities of the Illinois State Historical Society brought new responsibilities to the Executive Director, Clyde C. Walton, during the July-September quarter this year. Here is a summary of his out-of-the-ordinary activities for the three-month period:

July 1-2: At Shawneetown for the special Regional Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at the Shawneetown Sesquicentennial.

July 3: Attended dedication of Cairo Point-Fort Defiance State Park at Cairo.

July 6-7: Acted as Springfield area host — on behalf of the U.S. State Department — to Clarence G. Kirton and Arthur J. Seymour, newspaper editor and information officer, respectively, of Georgetown, British Guiana.

July 18: In Chicago to inspect manufacturers' proposals for new stacks needed by the Historical Library.

July 22-24: Attended meeting

of Chicago Civil War Round Table and collected historical materials from the Republican National Convention.

August 5: Conferred in Chicago with manufacturer's representative on final details and delivery arrangements for the Historymobile.

August 6-7: At Wooster, Ohio, to accept Historymobile and drive it back to Springfield.

August 15: At Illinois State Fair, where Governor William G. Stratton officiated at the ceremony of the formal opening of the Historymobile.

August 19-29: On fishing vacation in Canada.

August 30-September 3: At Iowa City, Iowa, for annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History.

September 9: Addressed organizational meeting of Pike County Historical Society at Pittsfield.

September 10: Addressed meeting of downstate chapter of American College of Physicians and Surgeons at Springfield.

September 14: Addressed Springfield Junior League on "What Can Be Done about Preserving Historical Springfield."

September 30: Addressed meeting of Wayne County Historical Society at Fairfield.

Illinois River Towns Celebrate 125th Birthdays

Marseilles and Peru, in La Salle County, are both 125 years old this year.

On June 1, 1835, the plat of Marseilles was registered at the county courthouse in Ottawa. The town's founder, Lovel Kimball, at one time owned the entire area now within the city limits. A birthday celebration took place the last week of July, with such events as a coronation ball, horse show, boat races, fireworks exhibits, parades, old-fashioned bargain days at the stores and a carnival.

A business history-directory of Marseilles was issued in connection with the celebration. Listed were all business and professional firms in the town, with a brief history of each.

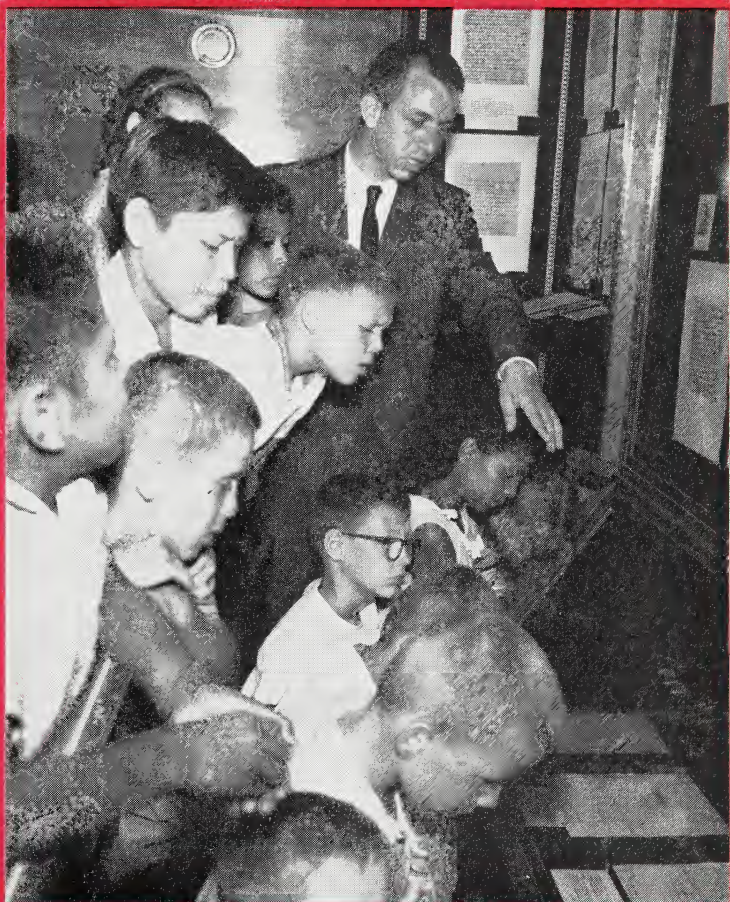
Peru's anniversary celebration took place July 1-4 with similar events. The city also published a souvenir history under the direction of Dorothy Bieneman, city librarian. The library observed its fiftieth anniversary at the same time and had special displays of early city records.

WINTER 1960

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THE

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Table of Contents

- 341 *The Education of Robert Todd Lincoln*
JOHN S. GOFF
- 361 *The Chicago Church-Theater Controversy of
1881-1882*
HARROLD C. SHIFFLER
- 376 *Herman Melville's Visit to Galena in 1840*
G. THOMAS TANSELLE
- 389 *Abolitionism Comes to Illinois*
MERTON L. DILLON
- 404 HISTORICAL NOTES
Grandfather Burgess Was a Forty-Niner
The Madstone, a Medical Curio
Oak Park's Bit of the Forest Primeval
- 415 ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK
A Humorous History Lesson
- 418 RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
- 420 BOOK REVIEWS
- 432 NEWS AND COMMENT

Illustrations

- Cover *Historymobile Lesson*
- 342 *"Illinois State University" in Springfield*
- 349 *Gideon Lane Soule*
- 352 *Poet James Russell Lowell*
- 357 *Robert Todd Lincoln in 1861*
- 363 *McVicker's Theatre, about 1866*
- 366 *James H. McVicker*
- 370 *The Rev. John Henry Barrows*
- 373 *Dr. Herrick Johnson*
- 379 *Herman Melville's Earliest Portrait*
- 381 *Thomas Melvill (1776-1845)*
- 385 *The house in Galena where Thomas Melvill lived
in 1840*
- 434 *Historical Society members at the Stephen Mack
House*
- 437 *Whitman Trading Post, built in 1846*

JOHN S. GOFF

The Education of Robert Todd Lincoln

John S. Goff received his doctorate from the University of Southern California this year. He taught at West Texas State College, Canyon, from 1957 to 1960 and joined the faculty of Phoenix College (Arizona) this fall. He is presently working on a full-length biography of Robert Todd Lincoln.

IT IS A well-known fact that the formal education of Abraham Lincoln was extremely limited. Like many other parents in similar circumstances, he planned for his sons to receive a better training than had been his. However, of the four Lincoln sons, only Robert, the eldest, lived to complete his education, but by all standards his formal schooling was excellent. The principal source of information about his primary education is a short autobiography he wrote for his class book at Harvard. He stated there: "I have a dim recollection of being under the slipper-guardianship of a School-Mistress until 1850, when I became a pupil at the Academy of a Mr. Esterbrook, and under his instruction I remained for three years."¹

From the academy Robert went to an institution which bore the lofty title "Illinois State University." This school had first opened its doors in Springfield in April, 1852.² It

1. Robert T. Lincoln, MS Autobiography, Harvard University Archives. This manuscript and others used in this article were obtained through the courtesy of Kimball C. Elkins, senior assistant in the Harvard Archives.

2. For a description of Illinois State University, see Harry Evjen, "Illinois State University, 1852-1868," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXI (March, 1938): 54-71; Paul M. Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*": *A History of Lincoln's Springfield, 1821-1865* (Springfield, Ill., 1935), 202-3.



"Illinois State University" in Springfield, where the students, Robert Todd Lincoln said, "did just what pleased us." The building later became the property of Concordia College and was razed in 1931.

was a private institution and was never in any way connected with the University of Illinois. In 1852 it was divided into two departments, with seventy-nine students in the preparatory division and three in the freshman class, which did college work. The University evidently prospered, and within five years after its establishment it was housed in an "elegant four story edifice."³ The curriculum was strictly classical, and the four members of the faculty were all ministers. Lincoln later commented:

The government was very easy and we did just what pleased us, study consuming only a very small portion of our time. . . . I became aware that I could never get an education in that way and resolved to enter Harvard College. . . .⁴

If Lincoln felt that he would never be educated by attending the Springfield school, at least the years there did pro-

3. *Ibid.*

4. R. T. Lincoln, *Autobiography*.

duce one lasting effect, for he formed a lifelong friendship with a fellow student, John Hay. Hay entered "Illinois State University" in 1852 and remained until 1855. He, too, decided that the school had limitations and left to enter Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island.⁵

The exact circumstances under which Robert Lincoln decided upon Harvard are unknown. Frequently it is suggested that his father made the decision, but this is not substantiated by any available documents and is based entirely upon conjecture. Once the decision was made, Robert applied for admission to the college and in August, 1859, set out for Massachusetts.⁶ He carried with him a letter of introduction from Stephen A. Douglas, who presented the young man as the son of his friend Abraham Lincoln, "with whom I have lately been canvassing the state of Illinois."⁷ In light of later history it is ironical that the letter came from Douglas, but at that time the Senator's fame extended far and wide, while it is said that when Robert Lincoln presented himself in Cambridge, only one member of the Harvard faculty, James Russell Lowell, had ever heard the name Abraham Lincoln.⁸

When young Lincoln arrived at Harvard, he took the entrance examinations to gain admission. That the education he had received in Springfield was woefully deficient is indicated by the fact that he failed miserably in the examinations. As he later recalled, "On being examined I had the

5. William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay* (Boston, 1915), I: 20-23.

6. Mary Todd Lincoln in a letter of August 28, 1859, mentions that "Bob . . . left for College, in Boston, a few days since"; quoted in Ruth Painter Randall, *Lincoln's Sons* (Boston, 1955), 62.

7. As quoted in J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders, A Century of Marvelous Growth* (Chicago, 1912), II: 82.

8. Edward Everett Hale, *James Russell Lowell and His Friends* (Boston, 1899), 200-201.

honor to receive a fabulous number of conditions which precluded my admission."⁹ The Harvard archives contain two sets of admission examinations used in 1859. One is dated July and the other September 1; it appears likely that the would-be student from Illinois took the latter.¹⁰ Several subjects were covered, with Greek and Latin emphasized. The test in the latter language included not only questions of grammar but also several sentences to be translated; the following is typical of those to be translated from English to Latin:

Let there be friendship for King Antiochus with the Roman people: let him depart from the cities on this side of Mount Taurus: let him carry forth no arms from those towns from which he may depart: if he has carried any forth, let him return them.

Geometry, algebra and arithmetic were also covered in the examinations. Arithmetic questions ranged from the simple "Add together $23 \frac{6}{8}$, $28 \frac{8}{12}$, $37 \frac{3}{15}$, and $17 \frac{1}{2}$ " to the more complicated "If 7 ounces of quicksilver cost 6 shillings, what is the cost of a pound, in shillings, pence, and farthings?" The history examination concerned ancient matters, and a typical question was, "For what do you remember the year 218 B.C.?"

His failure to pass the Harvard entrance examinations was probably the first time Robert Lincoln had met serious defeat. He must have been crushed and no doubt very homesick. No known letter has survived that passed between the unhappy boy and his parents, but it may be imagined that Abraham Lincoln consoled his son even more sympathetically than he did Robert's friend, George Latham, when that boy failed the same set of examinations. Then the

9. R. T. Lincoln, *Autobiography*.

10. Copies through the courtesy of Kimball C. Elkins.

busy Republican candidate for President took time to say:

I have scarcely felt greater pain in my life than on learning yesterday from Bob's letter, that you had failed to enter Harvard University. And yet there is very little in it, if you will allow no feeling of *discouragement* to seize, and prey upon you. It is a *certain* truth, that you *can* enter, and graduate in, Harvard University; and having made the attempt, you *must* succeed in it. "*Must*" is the word.

I know not how to aid you, save in the assurance of one of mature age, and much severe experience, that you *can* not fail, if you resolutely determine, that you *will* not.

The President of the institution can scarcely be other than a kind man; and doubtless would grant you an interview, and point out the readiest way to remove, or overcome, the obstacles which have thwarted you.

In your temporary failure there is no evidence that you may not yet be a better scholar, and a more successful man in the great struggle of life, than many others, who have entered college more easily.

Again I say let no feeling of discouragement prey upon you, and in the end you are sure to succeed.¹¹

Robert Lincoln wrote of his own failure, "I was resolved not to retire beaten, and acting under the advice of President Walker [of Harvard], I entered the well-known Academy at Exeter, N.H."¹²

The "Academy at Exeter" was the famous preparatory school, Phillips Exeter Academy. Again in Robert's own words: "I went to Exeter, hoping to enter the Class preparing to enter college, the next July, as Sophomores. The worthy Principal, Dr. Soule, soon convinced me of the vanity of my aspirations and I was obliged to enter the Sub-Freshman Class."¹³ Phillips Exeter had first opened its doors in

11. Abraham Lincoln to George C. Latham, July 22, 1860. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), IV: 87.

12. R. T. Lincoln, *Autobiography*.

13. *Ibid.* Lincoln means "Sub-Freshman" in the sense of work not on the college level.

April, 1783, and through the years had produced a number of distinguished alumni. Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, Franklin Pierce and George Bancroft were among its former students. The school had an excellent reputation and indeed could claim that it was "altogether the best-endowed institution of its class in the State of New Hampshire, if not in the country."¹⁴ The dominant figure of the academy from 1838 until 1872 was the "worthy Principal," Gideon Lane Soule, Bowdoin graduate, and, prior to assuming charge of the school, professor of ancient languages. Although it has been said that "as a teacher Dr. Soule was neither original nor progressive,"¹⁵ he was well regarded by students and alumni.

When he entered his recitation-room . . . , the class rose and remained standing until he bowed for it to sit. This was not mere form; it was genuine respect for the good doctor, whom all so loved and revered.¹⁶

The Principal taught Latin and placed equal stress on the language and on its literature. Students were constantly being called upon to recite in class, and many years later Robert Lincoln described Soule's method of selecting the pupils for recitation: "I shall never forget his lottery system of calling up a boy in recitation. The little tickets were carefully faced downward in a tin box, and delicately picked out, one by one, with the moistened tip of his finger, and laid aside until the name of the fellow he was after was reached."¹⁷

14. Quoting Professor Joseph G. Hoyt. See Myron R. Williams, *The Story of Phillips Exeter* (Exeter, N.H., 1957), 49.

15. Laurence M. Crosbie, *The Phillips Exeter Academy: A History* (Exeter, N.H., 1923), 35.

16. Quoting Rev. A. P. Peabody. See Frank H. Cunningham, *Familiar Sketches of the Phillips Exeter Academy and Surroundings* (Boston, 1883), 57.

17. Quoted in *ibid.*, 57-58.

It seems likely that the Principal was teaching more than his usual load in 1859, for the faculty was composed of only two other men. These two were notable in their own right although in that year they were only beginning their careers. George Albert Wentworth (1835-1906) had joined the staff as professor of mathematics in March, 1858, and Bradbury Longfellow Cilley (1838-1899) became the classics professor in February, 1859. Wentworth remained at the school until 1892, while his colleague and Harvard classmate, Cilley, taught there until a month before his death in 1899.¹⁸ Together with Dr. Soule they earned the name "The Great Triumverate."¹⁹ Lincoln appears to have been instructed chiefly by Wentworth, of whom he later said, "He was, and still is, I suppose, a 'driver.' I shall always think him the most thorough instructor I ever saw."²⁰ This gentleman, "because of his burly frame and roaring habit in the classroom, . . . was commonly known as 'Bull.'"²¹ Professor Cilley also seems to have been an interesting figure. He is described as "a gruff, warm-hearted veteran with a domelike head and piercing eyes, who hated affectation and sham, and . . . dismayed the timid with his roaring."²²

Although the Academy was considered a good school, it generally reflected an air of stagnant tradition; and while reforms were on the way, their realization would not come until long after Lincoln had left. Just prior to Lincoln's period of residence, the school had been fortunate in having on its staff Joseph Gibson Hoyt, who at Exeter was called "The Great Teacher." During his service there he had endeav-

18. For material on Wentworth and Cilley, see Williams, *Phillips Exeter*, 64-65, and Crosbie, *Phillips Exeter*, 110-12.

19. *Ibid.*, 110.

20. Cunningham, *Sketches of Phillips Exeter*, 149.

21. Williams, *Phillips Exeter*, 64.

22. *Ibid.*, 65.

ored to bring about some much-needed reform, but he left in 1858 to take another position.²³ The curriculum at Exeter in 1859 "was still characterized by devotion to the classics, Greek and Latin, with just a smattering of mathematics and a little history."²⁴ This situation was not changed until after Dr. Soule retired, for "changes in the course of study came slowly, and it is little exaggeration to say that, with very few alterations, the curriculum in 1872 closely resembled that of 1818."²⁵

When Robert Lincoln enrolled at Exeter, September 15, 1859, the school was small, with only 134 students in the academic year 1859-1860.²⁶ Unfortunately, there is no record of the subjects he took or the grades he made.²⁷

Most of the students lived in Abbot Hall, a dormitory which was in use after the mid-1850's, but for one reason or another Lincoln did not live there. Perhaps the hall was filled or perhaps he desired to live elsewhere. For a time he visited at the Exeter home of Amos Tuck, a friend of his father's.²⁸ Then he took up permanent residence as a roomer in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Clarke, whose address in Exeter is said to have been 7 Pleasant Street, not far from the campus.²⁹ There Lincoln shared a room with his friend George Latham. Abraham Lincoln paid his son's tuition, which amounted to \$24 per year, plus room and board. If Robert had boarded on campus, the cost would

23. Crosbie, *Phillips Exeter*, 96-102.

24. *Ibid.*, 111.

25. Williams, *Phillips Exeter*, 46.

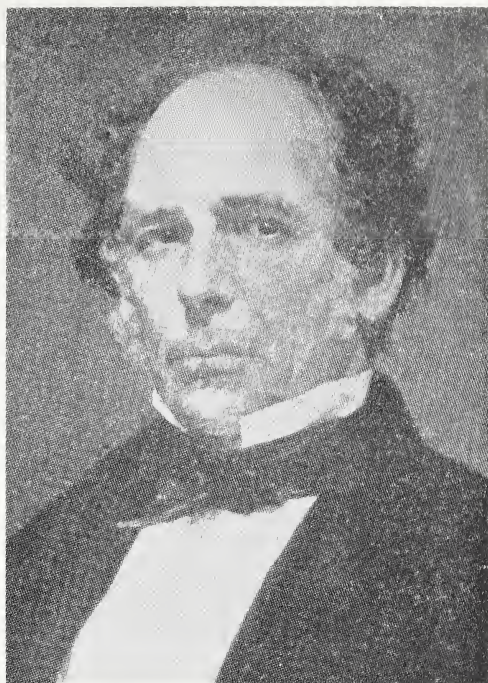
26. *Ibid.*, 209.

27. All records prior to the year 1873 were destroyed by fire. Gertrude E. Starks, alumni secretary, Phillips Exeter Academy, to the writer, July 1, 1958.

28. Elwin L. Page, *Abraham Lincoln in New Hampshire* (Boston, 1929), 98.

29. Gertrude E. Starks to the writer, July 1, 1958.

Gideon Lane Soule, who served as "worthy Principal" of Phillips Exeter Academy when Robert Todd Lincoln was a student there.



have been approximately \$1.30 to \$1.50 per week, but it cost more to live in private homes — \$2.25 upwards.³⁰

Students at the Academy in the 1850's were treated as children, not as young men. On the opening day of each year, Dr. Soule would announce to the assembled student body, "The Academy has no rules — until they are broken." Then he would usually continue, "But there is one rule I wish to make; whoever crosses the threshold of a billiard saloon, crosses the threshold of the Academy for the last time."³¹ Without doubt this caused countless students to go to a billiard saloon out of curiosity, although they would never have done so had the issue not been raised. One important change in the routine of Exeter had been made the year before Robert arrived. No longer did the students have

30. Crosbie, *Phillips Exeter*, 202.

31. *Ibid.*, 95.

to do their studying outside of class under the watchful eye of an instructor, but they could now work in their own rooms. However, they must be in their rooms by seven in the evening.³² It is not recorded whether the Clarkes made Lincoln and Latham adhere to this rule.

Robert Lincoln soon settled into the routine of Academy life. He was by all accounts a popular fellow, both among his classmates and Exeter citizens. For the most part, the year was, as he once said, "devoid of excitement, and full of hard work,"³³ and "characterized by little worth noting, except perhaps, a flight from Justice."³⁴ The story of this "flight from Justice" has often been told, but all Robert said of it was that he fled from "Justice, who persued [*sic*] me in the shape of a policeman all over the flourishing village, for having, in company with others, committed sundry depredations on the property of various citizens. Filthy lucre, also the root of all evil, proved a great blessing in the present case, and we all got off by paying damages."³⁵ Presumably Robert and some friends had gone through the town of Exeter unhinging and carrying off fence gates. The group was apprehended and called to account. According to one version of the story, they were taken before the local justice of the peace, and according to another, before Dr. Soule. In both of these versions it is said that Robert Lincoln's name was excluded from the list of culprits because of the prominence of his father but that he refused such immunity and admitted his part in the prank.

The highlight of Robert's year at Exeter was the visit of his father early in 1860. It is generally conceded that Abra-

32. *Ibid.*, 98-99.

33. Cunningham, *Sketches of Phillips Exeter*, 149.

34. R. T. Lincoln, *Autobiography*.

35. *Ibid.*

ham Lincoln's desire to see his son caused him to make the trip east, but obviously a secondary reason was his series of speaking engagements, including the famed Cooper Union address, which had made the trip financially possible.³⁶ Later in the year came Lincoln's nomination for the presidency and the beginning of much more excitement for his eldest son. Robert Lincoln is supposed to have taken the news of his father's selection in typical schoolboy fashion. When a friend told him of it, he was delighted and said, "I will write home for a check before he spends all of his money in the campaign."³⁷

At the time of his father's nomination Robert also had good news for the family: "After the commencement in 1860, I was able to inform my father that I had succeeded in entering College without a Condition — quite a change from the previous year."³⁸

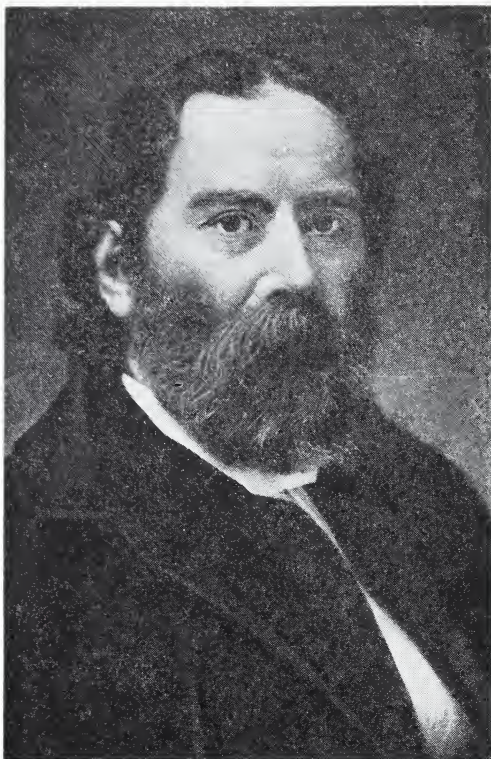
The Harvard which Robert T. Lincoln entered as a freshman in 1860 was probably the best college then existing in the United States, and yet by modern standards it would be found strangely inadequate. Henry Adams said of it that it "taught little, and that little ill." He was willing to concede, however, that it did have the saving grace of leaving "the mind open, free from bias, ignorant of facts, but docile."³⁹ The Harvard of 1860 was still more than a decade away from the revolution brought by Charles W. Eliot, and once again it was Lincoln's lot to be part of an educational system badly in need of reform. A member of Lincoln's own class, Professor George H. Palmer, looked back in 1914

36. Page, *Lincoln in New Hampshire*, 7, notes that the trip "appealed to the father, not the politician."

37. *Ibid.*, 134.

38. R. T. Lincoln, *Autobiography*.

39. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1918), 55.



*Poet James Russell Lowell,
the only Harvard instructor
with whom Robert Todd
Lincoln formed a lasting
friendship.*

at the Harvard he had known and characterized it thus:

Harvard University, when our Class entered it, was an advanced high school, with only 896 students and forty teachers in all its departments. Excepting a single study in the Junior year, and another in the Senior year, all our work was prescribed and therefore elementary. Greek and Latin were required for three years, Mathematics for two. There was no instruction in English literature, nor could any modern language count for a degree, although a year's work on Anglo-Saxon was demanded of us all. There was but one course in History, one in Philosophy, three in text-book Science, and half a course in Economics. The opportunities for writing English were about the same as those for writing Latin. Few lectures were given, and to only two or three of our instructors did it occur that it was possible to interest us in our studies.⁴⁰

40. Harvard College, *Class of 1864, Secretary's Report, Number 8, 1864-1914* (Boston, 1914), 180.

The elective system being yet some years in the future, Robert Lincoln and the others of the class of 1864 settled down to work on the required courses. The records of Harvard indicate that Lincoln's course of study was as follows:

Freshman Year (1860-1861): Composition, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Elocution, Religious Instruction (first term only), and History (second term only).

Sophomore Year (1861-1862): Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Rhetoric and Themes, Chemistry, Elocution (first term only) and Botany (second term only).

Junior Year (1862-1863): Greek, Latin, Physics, Chemistry (first term only), Declamations (first term only), Themes (first term only), Rhetoric (second term only), and French (an elective).

Senior Year (1863-1864): History, Physics, Forensics, Philosophy, Political Economy and Italian (an elective).⁴¹

Then as now, Harvard could boast of a distinguished faculty, including such men as Louis Agassiz, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell and Asa Gray. So far as is known, Robert Lincoln formed a lifelong association with only one of his instructors, James Russell Lowell, then Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures and Professor of Belles-Lettres.⁴² Many years later the former student wrote that he had studied Dante under Lowell, and "when now I take up my Dante, Mr. Lowell seems to be with me."⁴³ He remembered the Professor for "his erudition, humor and kindness,"⁴⁴ which made the association with him memorable beyond any other college experience. Many years after the Harvard days, when Lincoln was Minister to England, a post Lowell had once held, the man of letters wrote to Henry White:

41. Harvard Archives, courtesy of Kimball C. Elkins.

42. *A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Harvard University for the Academical Year, 1860-1861* (Cambridge, 1860), 6.

43. Hale, *Lowell and His Friends*, 143.

44. *Ibid.*, 143.

I do not wonder that you like Mr. Lincoln. I have known him since he was a boy and always thought well of him. He was in one of my classes at Harvard. I don't think he distinguished himself as a scholar — perhaps that may have been my fault as much as his — but he was always an honest fellow with no harm in him and I was sure he would turn out well.⁴⁵

In the 1860's the grading system in the college was an elaborate point method based on both scholarship and deportment, so that a student could earn points by good classroom performance, only to have them taken away by some minor infringement of the established rules of conduct.⁴⁶ The class of 1864 contained ninety-nine men who were graduated. In his senior year, Lincoln was tied with two others for thirtieth position in the class, with a merit ranking of seventy-nine, based on a scale of one hundred. For the entire four years of study, he was tied with one other man for thirty-second position, with a mark of sixty-nine, also on a scale of one hundred.⁴⁷

The academic year at Harvard was arranged to provide several periods of vacation. The fall semester started in late August or early September and ran until mid-January with a brief vacation at Thanksgiving. There was a six weeks' vacation between terms and another brief one late in May. Commencement was held toward the end of July.⁴⁸ Robert spent most of these vacations in Washington, D.C., or vicinity, but occasionally he served as escort to his mother, who was a frequent traveler during the war years.⁴⁹

45. Lowell to White, Oct. 11, 1890, as in Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1930), 69.

46. See Mark DeWolfe Howe, *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: The Shaping Years, 1841-1870* (Cambridge, 1957), 36-37. Holmes was a contemporary of Lincoln's at Harvard.

47. Harvard College, *Class of 1864, Secretary's Report, Number 6, 1864-1889* (Boston, 1889), 179.

48. Harvard University Catalogues, 1860-1864.

49. See Wayne C. Temple, "Mary Todd Lincoln's Travels," *Journal of*

Upon arriving in Cambridge in 1860, Robert took rooms at "Pasco's, corner of Main & Linden Sts.," where he resided during his freshman year. Then, for the next two years, he lived in Room 22 of Stoughton, a campus dormitory, and finally in his senior year he roomed in Hollis 25, also on campus.⁵⁰ During these years the young man from Springfield was already a celebrity because of his father's position, but this probably counted for less in Cambridge than it would have in many places, for Harvard was used to educating the sons of important men. One newspaper writer said that "of course his parentage gave him celebrity . . . but it was a very insignificant factor in determining his essential importance."⁵¹

It was the custom at Harvard in the 1860's for the sophomores to haze the freshmen. Early in the fall after Lincoln arrived, members of the class of 1863 descended upon new arrivals one night and in the process hauled Robert Lincoln from his bed. "Tell us," they demanded, "are you the son of the Mr. Lincoln who is named by the Republicans for the presidency?" The young man said he was, and the next question was, "What manner of man is this father of yours?" Robert's reply was simple and straightforward, "Father is the queerest old cuss you ever saw." The author of this anecdote recalled that Lincoln promptly became a great favorite around the campus.⁵² Another friend said that one of his "most vivid recollections" was of

young Lincoln, as he hied with nimble and elastic step across the college campus, the shrewd, good-natured glance of his eye, the quick and abrupt nod to right and left as he greeted passing friends,

the Illinois State Historical Society, LII (Spring, 1959): 180-94.

50. R. T. Lincoln, *Autobiography*.

51. Unidentified newspaper clipping, "The New War Secretary," in the Harvard University Archives.

52. H. S. Wardner to the "Editor of the Bulletin," undated. Copy in

his cheery voice as he hailed some crony or another with some odd nick-name of his own fresh coinage.⁵³

Still another remembered that he "was a sturdy, whole-souled, modest fellow, of strong affections and friendships, and to his closer friends he was without reserve and delightfully entertaining."⁵⁴

Robert T. Lincoln, while at Harvard, was a member of the famed Hasty Pudding Club, and "on Friday nights during junior and senior years Bob was one of the choicest spirits at the meetings."⁵⁵ He took part in the plays put on by this group, "and to this day tradition speaketh loud under the Cambridge elms of how Lincoln used to enact the villainy of 'Old Daddy Wylie' in Hardwicke's 'Bachelor of Arts,' or illustrated the swinging passion of that cruel parient [*sic*] 'Russett,' and in 'Jealous Wife.'"⁵⁶

For all of their frivolity, Harvard students of the period 1861 to 1864 could not forget that there was a bitter war in progress. Although many joined the service, many more remained in school until they finished their studies.⁵⁷ Those who were yet civilians participated in military activities of a sort:

The lawns of Harvard College became drill grounds. Officers of the Cadet Corps of Boston took charge of the United States Arsenal, with undergraduates for enlisted men. A competent French drill-master, named Salignac . . . , has his school, and between recitations in physic [*sic*] and astronomy, Professor —— took a hand

the Vermont Historical Society. Charles S. Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury, 1887-1889, and a Harvard graduate of 1863, told the story to Wardner.

53. Clipping, "The New War Secretary."

54. Henry S. Huidekoper, *Personal Notes and Reminiscences of Lincoln* (Philadelphia, 1896), 5.

55. Clipping, "The New War Secretary."

56. *Ibid.*

57. The Civil War affected Harvard's enrollment only slightly. University enrollment was: 1860-1861, 896; 1861-1862, 833; 1862-1863, 814;

Robert Todd Lincoln in 1861, when he was a student at Harvard.



at military instruction with more spirit than would be evidenced by the command he once gave: "G-e-n-t-l-e-m-e-n, would you please A-D-V-A-N-C-E!"⁵⁸

The class of 1864 at Harvard was by no means distinguished. In fact, few of the ninety-nine graduates of that year gained prominence, and undoubtedly the name of Robert T. Lincoln is the best known of the group. On July 20, 1864, the class was graduated, with Edward Everett the orator of the day — which was described as "very warm."⁵⁹ The group had already set up its permanent organization of class officers, and Lincoln was one of three making up the Class Day Committee.⁶⁰ (In succeeding years the group

and 1864-1865, 822. See Harvard Catalogues, 1860-1864.

58. Huidekoper, *Notes and Reminiscences*, 7.

59. *New York Herald*, July 21, 1864.

60. *Harvard College, Class of 1864, Secretary's Report, Number 6, 1864-1889*, 175.

held annual reunions, but since Lincoln's home was in Chicago he was able to attend only a few such functions.)

It had been rumored that following graduation from college, Robert Lincoln would immediately enter the army.⁶¹ Instead, the young man returned to Harvard in the fall for work in the Law School. The reasons for this decision can probably be laid at the doorstep of Mary Todd Lincoln, who, having lost two sons already, was fearful that her eldest might not return from the battlefield.⁶² On September 7, 1864, Robert Lincoln enrolled at Harvard Law School.⁶³ He was there only a few months, and the facts about his stay are meager, for at that time no marks were kept and no record was made of the courses attended by students.⁶⁴

Once again it was Lincoln's fate to be in a school where change and modernization were long overdue but still in the future. It would be several years before Christopher C. Langdell would be called to head the school and revolutionize legal training not only at Harvard but throughout the nation. At that time, the school was still operated as it had been since its founding. Not only were no records made of the students' participation in class, but there was no system of written examinations for candidates for law degrees. The *American Law Review* in October, 1870, openly blasted the system, stating that "for a long time, the condition of the Harvard Law School has been almost a disgrace to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."⁶⁵

61. *Chicago Journal*, July 15, 1864, as quoted in Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years* (New York, 1939), III: 417.

62. Mrs. Helm, half sister of Mrs. Lincoln, wrote that Robert's mother very much feared the prospect of his entering service. See Katherine Helm, *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln* (New York, 1928), 227.

63. George A. Strait, assistant librarian, Harvard University, to the writer, May 11, 1959.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Howe, *Holmes*, 205.

The Harvard law faculty in 1864 and 1865 consisted of three men, Theophilus Parsons, Joel Parker and Emory Washburn. Parker had once been chief justice of New Hampshire, Washburn was a former governor of Massachusetts, and Parsons was the son of a onetime attorney general of the United States. Each was in his own right a sound legal scholar and an able teacher, but their teaching methods were outmoded. A student went to classes, or did not go, as he saw fit. "Lectures began at eleven and ended at one."⁶⁶ Assignments were made, but there was no way for the professor to determine if they had been done. Perhaps more useful to the students than the lectures were the moot courts organized either by the faculty or the students themselves.⁶⁷

While Lincoln was attending the Law School, he must have heard a most interesting lecture delivered by Professor Parker, who held strict-constructionist views of the federal Constitution. This particular effort in January, 1865, was a vigorous denunciation of President Lincoln's use of the war powers of the Chief Executive. One presumes that Parker knew the President's son was in his audience.⁶⁸

It is impossible to know how much influence his few months at Harvard Law School had upon Robert T. Lincoln. He left school to enter the army, and after the war, when he might have been expected to return to Harvard, he had the responsibility of his mother and younger brother and returned with them to Chicago, where Mrs. Lincoln chose to live. There the young man entered a Chicago law office to continue his legal training and also studied at the University of Chicago Law School.⁶⁹ (In 1865 the former meth-

66. Samuel F. Batchelder, "Old Times at the Law School," *Atlantic Monthly*, XC (Nov., 1902): 651.

67. Howe, *Holmes*, 190.

68. *Ibid.*, 186.

od for getting a legal education was more usual than being trained in a law school.) Later in life, Lincoln occasionally participated in affairs of the Harvard Law School, and in November, 1886, along with Rutherford B. Hayes and William M. Evarts, he was elected a vice-president of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association.⁷⁰

The education of Robert T. Lincoln was, by all standards of the time, excellent. However, in each of the three major schools he attended — Phillips Exeter, Harvard College and Harvard Law School — it was his lot to finish under an old order which was soon to give way to modernization. Lincoln was not a profound scholar, but he was a better than average student. He learned his lessons well and became a well-educated man. Indeed his training seems to have been deficient in only one respect — he never mastered the art of penmanship, and his writing is almost beyond description. Those examples of his correspondence that are known to exist tend to make one welcome with relief the period when Lincoln began to use the typewriter.

69. The records of the "old" University of Chicago in the Archives Library of the University of Chicago indicate that Lincoln was a student in residence, 1865-1866. Elizabeth V. Benyon, assistant law librarian, University of Chicago, to the writer, March 7, 1960.

70. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1886.

HARROLD C. SHIFFLER

The Chicago Church-Theater Controversy of 1881-1882

Chairman of speech and drama at Hastings College, Hastings, Nebraska, Harrold C. Shiffler is a graduate of Drake University, Des Moines, and took his doctorate at the University of Iowa. He was an assistant professor of dramatic art at Iowa's University Theatre for six years before going to Hastings.

ONE OF THE more interesting and vigorous debates concerning the alleged incompatibility of the theater and religion in Chicago occurred during the winter of 1881-1882 and involved a number of the city's leading figures, particularly the "dean" of Chicago's legitimate theater, James H. McVicker, and the pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Dr. Herrick Johnson.

Chicago had enjoyed theatrical presentations for a number of years and had seen some of the most celebrated actors and actresses of the day, including Joseph Jefferson, Sarah Bernhardt, Rachel, Helena Modjeska and Edwin Booth. The Rice Theatre had been built in 1847; McVicker had erected his \$85,000 theater, which seated 2,000-2,500 people, in 1857; the Crosby Opera House had been built in 1865. By 1881-1882, the time of the church-theater controversy, four major theaters — McVicker's, the Opera House, Hooley's and Haverly's — and a number of lesser ones were operating in Chicago.

This 1881-1882 controversy in Chicago was not without

precedent in America. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Protestant groups and the majority of their clergy brought to America the European antagonism toward the stage and stage presentations, and their attitude was soon reflected in laws prohibiting plays and the erection of theater buildings. Although theatrical companies began to appear in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and a few other settlements just prior to 1750, the actors and their managers found a strong sentiment against them, not only from the churches and the clergy but also from some of the colonial courts.

It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that theaters were legalized in some of the states; but even after legalization the theater was condemned by most Protestant groups.

The Richmond theater fire of 1811, thirteen years after repeal of the last anti-theater legislation,¹ brought a flurry of attacks from ministers who labeled the theater as "the devil's playground," "the Synagogue of Satan," and "the porch of pollution," and who called the destruction of the Richmond theater and the loss of almost one hundred lives an "act of God" which demonstrated His extreme displeasure with such worldly entertainments.

Throughout the nineteenth century innumerable anti-theater pamphlets, articles and sermons were printed by ministers and laymen, sincere in their efforts to keep the alleged corruption of the theater from the people. And con-

1. In Rhode Island. Pennsylvania's anti-theater law was repealed in 1789; the Massachusetts law in 1797. New York had no such law, although there was much antagonism from the Dutch Reformed Church. Virginia and South Carolina — with the pro-theater towns of Richmond and Charleston — had no anti-theater laws. The predominantly Episcopalian and Roman Catholic populations in these states for the most part favored theatrical presentations.



McVicker's was one of the four large theaters in Chicago in 1881. This drawing was made about 1866.

troversies between ministers and theater personnel arose in various areas of the country.²

The debate between religious groups and the Chicago theaters came after a citizens' committee, appointed to inspect the theater buildings, had returned a report favorable to the theater managers. Using the report as a springboard, Dr. Johnson, on Sunday night, December 4, 1881, attacked the theater in a sermon entitled "A Plain Talk about the Theatre." The *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, which summarized the talk on December 7, stated that it was directed toward the young men in the congregation and urged them not to frequent the theater because of its demoralizing influence and because it was an institution which could not be recognized by those who professed Christianity.

2. E.g., the Rev. Joshua L. Wilson in Cincinnati (1815); Dr. Samuel Aikin in Cleveland (1836); and the Rev. Artemus Bullard, who tangled with one of the Midwest's great nineteenth-century managers, Sol Smith, in St. Louis (1841).

In what the *Inter-Ocean* reported to be a discourse of an hour and a half, with the text, "Prove all things. Hold fast that is good," Dr. Johnson began his remarks by implying that a "most searching examination" of the theater revealed it to be "hostile to public virtue, and as an institution, pernicious and corrupting in its influence." The great prevalence of theaters and the assumption that "hundreds of young men are drawn every night of the week to enter these playhouses" were the reasons for his sermon, he said, and he proceeded to discuss "the worth of the stage in the light of history, of reason, of Christian morals and of common sense." Dr. Johnson's arguments revolved around those which had been presented by other ministers of the nineteenth century — evil plays, evil players, audience of low society, waste of time and money, etc. — and at the end of the sermon he concluded that the theater could not bear the test of "Prove all things" to which it had been put. Charging that the theater was "gilding vice" and was "guilty of a murderous assault upon all that the family circle holds most dear and sacred," Dr. Johnson said:

I urge you, as one who speaks not without reasons, as one for whom the dramatic in action and speech has a peculiar fascination, and as one who has felt the charm and witchery of it in actual experience, yet who is principled against indulgence at the price of morality and pure manhood and womanhood — I urge you, in the interest of pure, sweet lives, in the interests of sacred homes, in behalf of the Sabbath and of the name that is above every name, shun the theatre! "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away."

This sermon, printed in pamphlet form, caused numerous arguments for and against the ideas it presented. The Chicago press, generally, did not report these arguments,

although the *Chicago Alliance*³ for December 16, two weeks after the sermon had been preached, carried an editorial and a letter to the editor concerning the sermon, both of which denounced Johnson for his unjust and false charges. And the *Inter-Ocean* of December 26 gave the full text of a sermon on "Amusements" preached some three weeks after Johnson's sermon by the Rev. John Henry Barrows of the First Presbyterian Church.

That there were more arguments and dissenting voices than were reported in the *Alliance* is implied in a second attack by Johnson, "A Plainer Talk about the Theatre," which was published as an open letter in the *Inter-Ocean* and the *Tribune* on January 21, 1882. A review of the theatrical season of 1881, published in the *Inter-Ocean* of December 31, was the cause, Johnson said, for his "plainer talk," in which he took time to delineate between the "good" plays and the "filth" which had appeared on the boards of the four major Chicago theaters. Not content with labeling certain plays as impure and immoral, Johnson quoted reviews of newspaper critics as evidence of the immorality of plays. Many of the dramas presented during that season are not now well known, but among those which Johnson listed were *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, *Frou Frou*, *Camille*, *Phèdre*, *Hernani*, *L'Etrangère* — all played by Bernhardt at McVicker's Theatre, and *Olivette*, *Daniel Rochat*, *Michael Strogoff*, *Felicia*, *The Danites*, *Patience* and *The Pirates of Penzance*. Some of these were described by various critics as "feverish slop," "nauseous twaddle," "unmitigated and inimitable [*sic*] bosh," and "appeals to baser instincts." And in his "plainer talk" Dr. Johnson issued an indictment of the

3. A weekly newspaper edited by Professor David Swing, pastor of Chicago's interdenominational Central Church.



*James H. McVicker, "dean"
of Chicago's legitimate theater in 1881-1882.*

Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

theater as it existed in the 1880's, charging, among other things, "that the great mass of what has been put upon the boards of Chicago's theatres the last year has been trash of the most unadulterated description, often passing into the realm of THE FILTHY AND THE VICIOUS."

This second attack brought a flood of letters and editorials in Chicago newspapers. Most of these were in favor of the theater, but one pro-Johnson letter is particularly interesting because it came from a man who identified himself as an actor. The *Tribune* of February 12 printed the comments in which the actor, an L. E. Southern (not of the celebrated Sothern and Marlowe team), indicated that he did not think that "the odds are against him [Johnson] in any way; he yet will have his day, and, I hope, bring about a much-needed reform."

Two lengthy letters in defense of the theater came from the Honorable E. C. Larned, one of Chicago's most highly regarded lawyers of that day, and provoked even lengthier replies from Johnson.

During the early days of this controversy James H. McVicker was in New York, but in an open letter to the *Tribune* (February 20), he said that Johnson's letter had been sent to him, and he felt that it called for an answer from one of the profession which it traduced. Calling Johnson a "pettifogger who might achieve some success in the lower strata of the profession of the law," McVicker made as severe a personal attack upon Johnson as Johnson had made upon the theatrical profession and some of those connected with it. He suggested that Johnson select one of Chicago's recognized theaters and make his charges specifically against that one theater "in such a way that the case may be taken into our courts, and I will guarantee to convict you of slander or pay \$1,000 to any charitable institution you may name." But Johnson ignored the challenge and, in an interview with a *Tribune* reporter, published on February 21, was quoted as saying, "What I have written I have written, wherein McVicker's Theatre has been named as well as others."

When McVicker returned to Chicago the first week in March, a reporter from the *Inter-Ocean* seized the opportunity to interview him. McVicker reiterated that if Johnson would directly charge McVicker's Theatre with presenting lewd or impure plays, McVicker would sue him and take the case to court.

When he was informed that Dr. Johnson had refused to submit the question to the verdict of a petit jury, McVicker suggested that he and Johnson select their own jury of men "of conspicuous position and commanding influence"

from Dr. Johnson's own church, for a public hearing to be held at the Music Hall, on the question:

Does McVicker allow impure plays upon his stage? or does the drama as presented at McVicker's Theatre corrupt the morals of the people? or is McVicker's Theatre one of the gateways to that place where bad people go when they die? or we will discuss the morals of the McVicker's Theatre in any form Dr. Johnson wants to put it. We will charge an admission fee of \$1, and the receipts shall go to

THE BENEFIT OF THE MISSION SCHOOL

of Dr. Johnson's church. If the jury decides that Dr. Johnson is right, I will add \$1,000 to the receipts for the same purpose.⁴

But Johnson made no answer to McVicker for some time.

Meanwhile, the debate was spreading. People outside Illinois were entering the controversy. L. W. Munhall, the General Secretary of the Indiana YMCA, wrote to the *Tribune* deploring McVicker's letter to Johnson and pointing out that the proposed "trial" would give McVicker \$10,000 worth of advertising. An Episcopal clergyman from Battle Creek, Michigan, defended the theater as a proper institution and called attention to the editor of a New York religious newspaper who had leased a theater in New York and was giving plays there to show that drama, per se, was not evil. The clergyman had met the actress Charlotte Cushman in Rome and had found her to be "excellent in her domestic, social and church life." Dr. Johnson had overshot his mark, the clergyman felt, in his zeal to purify the morals of Chicago.

The responses of actors and actresses to Dr. Johnson's "Plainer Words" were published by the *Inter-Ocean*. As might be expected, none of these responses were favorable to the minister. Although some commented upon the need

4. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 8, 1882.

for some changes in the theater, they felt that the method used was totally in error. Several issued harsh invectives against Dr. Johnson. The *Inter-Ocean*, trying to maintain logic in the argument, noted the following:

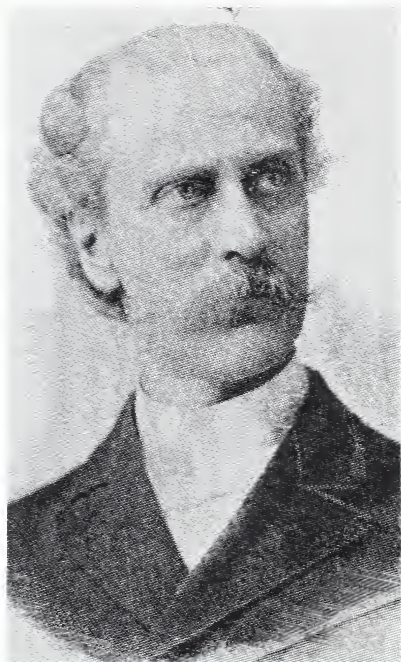
The actors and actresses . . . are as unjust to that gentleman [Dr. Johnson] as he is to them. They assume that he is a third-rate man working for notoriety, and speak disrespectfully of him as such. They could not be further from the truth. Dr. Johnson is one of the ablest Presbyterian clergymen in the West, and takes high rank as a theologian among clergymen generally. He is earnest in his crusade against the theatres, and severe as the theatrical people may be in their criticisms, they will lose nothing by remembering the rank and character of the man they are dealing with.⁵

Sermons on the controversy or on related topics were delivered in pulpits on Sunday mornings by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and others. But more important than the entry of individual ministers into the debate were the discussions in several meetings of Chicago ministers. At the January meeting of the Chicago Methodist Episcopal clergy, for example, the Rev. R. B. Pope delivered an address on "The Church *vs.* Popular Amusements," condemning not only the theater but also billiards, dancing, heavy suppers, the use of tobacco, the opera, and fishing, which was called a game of chance. At the February meeting the ministers adopted a resolution which placed them solidly behind Dr. Johnson in his movement against the theater. And at a Baptist ministers' meeting in February, after a discussion of a paper, "The Rev. Herrick Johnson and the Theatre: Is His Position Tenable?," the group commended the minister "for the fearless and bold stand he had taken and the able manner in which he handled the subject."⁶

The Presbyterian Ministers Association of Chicago, mean-

5. *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1882.

6. *Ibid.*, and *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1882.



*The Rev. John Henry Barrows,
pastor of the First Presbyterian
Church of Chicago.*

while, had appointed a committee, headed by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, to submit a paper on the theater. His report, presented to the association on February 20, praised Dr. Johnson for his "bold, vigorous, and masterly attack . . . on the dramatic indecencies of Chicago"; contended that "an unworthy countenancing of the theatre, by lowering the tone of spirituality, has been one of the chief hindrances to deep and widereaching revival of righteousness and faith . . ."; and called on all the Christian disciples in Chicago to throw "the undiminished weight of . . . [their] influence against an institution so manifestly pernicious."⁷

However, at the March meeting of the Chicago Presbytery, Dr. Johnson called the attention of his colleagues to a notice which had appeared in the *Alliance* of February 27, stating that the Presbytery did not endorse his sweeping denunciation of the theater. A resolution was introduced

7. *Ibid.*

which proposed that the clerk of the group inform the editors of the *Alliance* that the statement concerning the Presbytery was "an utter misrepresentation." But the ministers were not in agreement about the resolution or about Dr. Johnson's denunciation. Some of them endorsed the minister completely; others endorsed him but thought it unwise to reopen the question. Still others said that they were not in total accord with his stand on theatricals. The moderator noted "that it was absurd for this body to contradict rumors, misrepresentations, or newspaper comments. Life is just one long fleahunt if a man were to take that course." The resolution was finally amended by removing any endorsement by the Presbytery, and in that form it was passed.

Seizing upon the obvious disagreement within the ranks of churchmen as interesting news, the *Inter-Ocean* interviewed Dr. Arthur Swazey of the Forty-first Street Presbyterian Church, not only because he had been in disagreement with Johnson's wholesale denunciation of the theater but also because Swazey, on February 20, had preached a sermon which severely censured theaters for being open on Sunday but which was not quite so antagonistic to the theater in general. After a number of questions the reporter realized that he was not getting the story he had hoped to get — namely, that Swazey and others of the Presbytery were in violent and open disagreement with Dr. Johnson. Nevertheless, such disagreement was shown in one of Swazey's own comments:

The general questions of the theatre and of the Sunday theatre are very, very wide apart. In one case it is a question of amusement or profit, which is all right so far as the plays are all right, and I suppose most of them are. . . .⁸

8. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 8, 1882.

Another Chicago minister, Professor David Swing of the interdenominational Central Church, had published editorials concerning the controversy in his weekly newspaper, the *Alliance*, including the notice concerning the disagreement of the Presbytery, and another in praise of E. C. Larned's letters and logic and in derogation of Dr. Johnson's. It was Swing who had delivered the funeral sermon for McVicker's wife, Mary. Professor Swing, whose title was a vestige from his professorship at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, was an ordained Presbyterian minister, but in 1875 after a church trial on a charge of heresy, from which he emerged victorious, he broke relations with the denomination. A number of influential Chicagoans, still interested in Swing as a minister, organized the interdenominational church and asked him to be the pastor. The congregation first met, ironically, in the McVicker's Theatre but later held its services in the Central Music Hall, built primarily to provide a platform for Swing.

Swing's attack upon Johnson was in the nature of a defense of the stage, properly regulated. But Swing lost little time in denouncing the minister for his narrow views and for the manner in which he had condemned the stage and called for the annihilation of the theater. With Dr. Johnson's comments in mind, Swing wrote:

He lacks that delicacy of expression which should be the eminent characteristic of one who writes against the sensuality of the theatre. Greatly inferior to Mr. Larned, his new adversary, in breadth and penetration, he is inferior to almost all public writers and speakers in that quality of mind which cannot even think evil. Writing and preaching against the drama, the Doctor succeeds in printing a great quantity of words which are not admitted into modern literature, and which not only ladies or gentlemen are not accustomed to make use of in either writing or conversation. . . . It will have



*Dr. Herrick Johnson, pastor
of Chicago's Fourth Presby-
terian Church.*

to be confessed that the sermons and letters of this clergyman against the drama

ARE MORE OF THE EARTH EARTHY
than is the average drama itself.⁹

These were words which Dr. Johnson could not let go unanswered, and another of his open letters appeared in the *Inter-Ocean* and the *Tribune* of March 18, in reply to Swing's editorial and McVicker's challenge. Taking the offensive, Dr. Johnson began his reply by defining the problem:

It is not whether some clean plays are on the boards. This is not denied. It is not whether some virtuous players may be found. This is not denied. It is not as to the drama, but the stage; and not some ideal stage, but the stage of history and of to-day. It is not a personal question as affecting a particular manager or critic. Personal considerations should sink out of sight here. . . . My arraignment of the theatre has been for its frequent exhibitions of

9. *Chicago Alliance*, Feb. 12, 1882.

filth, its appeals to lust, its show of young women in grossly immodest and indecent approaches to nakedness, its assault upon all that the family circle holds most sacred, and its insolent profanation of the Sabbath.

Having made clear the definition of the debate, Dr. Johnson continued with a pointed attack upon McVicker's Theatre, again giving names and plots of plays which had appeared at the theater and presenting some of the critics' comments upon those plays. In addition, as an answer to the attacks which Swing and others had made upon his rather indelicate language, Dr. Johnson said that Peter, Paul and Christ himself had taught that "when we stand face to face with a buttressed iniquity we are justified in using something more than 'soft words,' 'Culture,' and a 'holy life' in the effort to batter it down."

During the latter days of the controversy a committee of two laymen and eight ministers of various denominations met to discuss the stopping of Sunday stage presentations. They appointed members to visit theater managers in order to discuss the problem, but they indicated they would not open a crusade against the managers and hoped that Dr. Johnson would go no further.

Another letter from McVicker was published in the *Herald*, in which the manager brought to public attention Paul's statement, "I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus, that nothing is unclean of itself; save that to him who accounteth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean," and noted that Dr. Johnson "has given sufficient evidence to convince a reflective mind that he does not understand the beautiful and simple teaching of Jesus Christ."

But McVicker's letter was not the final word. Dr. Johnson collected a few of the letters and comments which had

appeared during the debate, including McVicker's last letter, and published them, together with his first sermon against the theater, in a single volume, "Plain Talks about the Theatre." And in an introduction to McVicker's letter Johnson indicated surprise that nothing had come of the manager's threat of a lawsuit.

So ended Dr. Herrick Johnson's war upon the Chicago theaters — a rough, often indelicate attack. The papers were silent on the matter after March, 1882, and the issue was a closed one, as far as publicity was concerned. The failure of McVicker to carry out his threat after Dr. Johnson had made a specific charge against the McVicker's Theatre indicates that the moral victory in the debate belonged to Dr. Johnson. What effect the excitement had upon theater attendance, either in swelling it or diminishing it, is of little importance since the McVicker's Theatre continued for many years as a major theater for legitimate drama and is now used as a motion-picture house. The following May, Dr. Johnson was elected to the highest Presbyterian church office, that of Moderator of the General Assembly.

This kind of controversy was not unusual in America during the nineteenth century. But the result of such conflicts was expressed concisely by Dr. Swazey in the *Inter-Ocean* of March 8, when he explained why he would not make an attack on the theater, independent of the Sunday theater question:

My first reason is that

THESE ONSLAUGHTS RARELY DO ANY GOOD

except in rural parishes where there are no theatres, and the good they do there is questionable, for the bucolic antagonist is rather curious to know how bad the thing really is, and is quite likely, when he comes to town, to go to the theatre — "just to see for himself."

Herman Melville's Visit To Galena in 1840

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HERMAN MELVILLE made a trip west in the summer of 1840 to visit his uncle, Major Thomas Melvill (1776-1845), in Galena, Illinois.¹ This visit, which came between his voyage to England (described in *Redburn*) and his whaling voyage (used as the basis of *Moby Dick*), made a deep impression on him. Western descriptions and imagery, as well as actual references to the Midwest, occur throughout his works — particularly in *The Confidence Man* and in the poem "Trophies of Peace — Illinois in 1840." Although virtually nothing is known of Melville's summer in Galena, it is possible to learn from contemporary records something of the people and places he saw.

The *Galena Directory* for 1847 declared that the town was far enough from the Mississippi "to be free from the pestilential influence of its miasmatic exhalations,"² yet near

1. For a discussion of Thomas Melvill and his influence on Herman, see Merton M. Sealts, Jr., "The Ghost of Major Melvill," *New England Quarterly*, XXX (Sept., 1957): 291-306.

2. *The Galena Directory, and Miners Annual Register for 1847-8. Number One* (Galena, 1847), 5.

enough to enjoy commercial advantages. A good description of the town and its lead mines in the early 1840's is found in a letter written by E. E. Ball in September, 1843:

Galena is the most picturesque romantic place I ever beheld, it is situated on fever river, between or on two hills, the buildings which are generally good, are scattered here & there without any regard to order, rising so romantically and playfully, here on a precipice a beautiful dwelling with scarcely room for a rosebush before it, there a neat little cottage with a fine flowergarden in front, on one side the houses appear to touch the sky, on the other the city and river are far below our feet, and when I take into the view the scenery on the opposite side of the river I scarcely convince myself that I am not looking at some romantic picture.

Yesterday I went . . . to see the lead mines, there is no more curiosity in what we can see there, than to see a number of wells while digging, it is dug in the same manner but one that we saw, the men said was sixty feet deep, and then dug 17 feet off one way a kind of room under ground the dirt that was thrown out was mixed with mineral pieces 2 or 3 inches in diameter but we saw at the smelting houses pieces much larger than any bodies head, but these pieces are broken into small pieces and put into a kind of furnace with wood & coal and when it melts it runs into a boiler of iron and is diped out into moulds & when cool piled up for sale.³

Galena became a boom town because of the lead mines, and by 1845 it was the most important commercial point on the Mississippi north of St. Louis. Sometimes eighteen steamers were anchored on the levee at one time. S. W. McMaster described the levee as "crowded with boats coming in, and going out in all direction[s]. Main street and [the area] along the levee was [*sic*] so crowded in the busy season, that it was difficult to pass along the side walk. The ladies

3. From a letter written by E. E. Ball to Edwin R. Ball of Rensselaer, New York. The date at the head of the letter is Aug. 18, 1843, but the passage quoted is from an addition dated Sept. 29. The letter is post-marked Chicago, Oct. 6. It is quoted by permission of the Chicago Historical Society.

generally deserting it and taking to the upper street. Goods would often lie on the levee all night. The piles of lead would be covered with the lighter kinds of the cargoes."⁴ In 1845 the Galena mines produced 83 per cent of the nation's lead.⁵ Twenty-two million pounds of lead were shipped from Galena in 1840 and fifty-four million pounds in 1845. In 1840 there were three hundred steamboat arrivals and departures.⁶

Galena could boast in 1841 of 650 houses, sheltering 2,200 persons. In 1826 there had been only 150 persons in the town, and in 1831 one thousand. The town was incorporated in 1839, but the city government was not set up until 1841.⁷ Many New Englanders came to Galena in the early 1840's because the town was little affected by the Panic of 1837. There had been a depression in 1829, but lead production began to boom in 1832 and prosperity continued until the late 1850's. In 1840 there were 876 farmers to 617 miners, but this was five years before the peak of lead production. The New England element became a major force in the town and formed the "stable" population (the "get-rich-quick" miners were generally more or less transient). The New Englanders were the farmers, merchants and professional men,⁸ but the number of French, Irish and Canadian immigrants was increasing. McMaster says, "The population of Galena was a motley one, made up generally of men mostly of energy and intelligence, who breaking away

4. S. W. McMaster, *60 Years on the Upper Mississippi: My Life and Experiences* (Rock Island, Ill., 1893), 140.

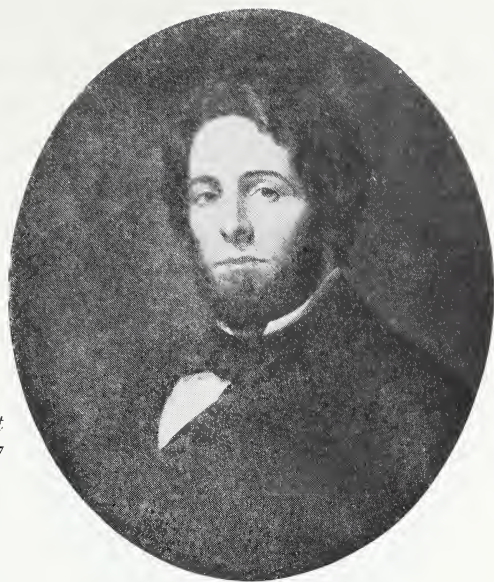
5. Nathaniel Fish Moore, *A Trip from New York to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1845* (Stanley Pargellis and Ruth Lapham Butler, eds., Chicago, 1946), 87.

6. *The Galena Directory . . . for 1847-8*, p. 39.

7. *Ibid.*, 45.

8. Philip Williams, "Galena, Ill. — A Footnote to History" (mimeo., 1941, in Northwestern University Library), 8, 14-15.

Herman Melville's earliest portrait, painted about 1847 by Asa W. Twitchell.



from their far distant homes came here to better their fortune, coming from nearly every state in the union. . . . Gamblers and gambling saloons, and low Irish doggeries abounded.”⁹ At the same time an aristocracy was developing on the hill behind Main Street.

Common currency in Galena in 1840 consisted of pesos, sovereigns and francs. Following the Panic of 1837, the miners demanded payment in gold,¹⁰ and Galena “was the only place where money that is real money — gold and silver could be obtained.”¹¹ In 1840 the Chicago-Galena mail stage began to operate. It made the trip in one day, changing horses every twelve miles.¹² The fare was \$13.¹³ Melville probably arrived in Galena on this stage if he went west by the Great Lakes route to Chicago (as the descrip-

9. McMaster, *60 Years*, 14.

10. Federal Writers' Project (Illinois), *Galena Guide* (Chicago, 1937), 32.

11. McMaster, *60 Years*, 13.

12. Richard Gear Hobbs, *Glamorous Galena and Jo Daviess County: Little Switzerland of Illinois* (Galena, 1939), 31.

13. *Galena Guide*, 73.

tion of the Great Lakes in Chapter 54 of *Moby Dick* suggests).¹⁴

At the time of Herman's visit, Thomas had been in Galena three years and was active in civic affairs. He and his second wife, Mary Ann Augusta Hobart (1796-1884), had moved to Galena in 1837. There is a tradition in the town (as yet without proof) that Thomas went there as business manager for Captain Hezekiah H. Gear, one of the most successful of the lead miners. Gear, a New Englander, had gone to Galena in 1827. Illness on his journey had stripped him of all he possessed, and he started with a one-man mine; but he discovered one of the largest ore deposits in the district and was soon mining on a large scale.¹⁵ The story is that in 1837 Gear went east to bring the bodies of his father and mother to Galena for burial and, while in Boston, met Thomas Melvill and hired him as business manager.¹⁶ Both were veterans of the War of 1812. There is another Galena tradition, also without proof, that Thomas Melvill, in his management of Gear's finances, was more a liability than an asset to Gear.

Thomas Melvill was secretary of Galena's first Chamber of Commerce, organized February 2, 1838, and he still held this position in the summer of 1840. The Chamber of Commerce exercised a powerful influence on Galena's business interests. It maintained furnished rooms on the west side

14. See John W. Nichol, "Melville and the Midwest," *Publication of the Modern Language Association of America*, LXVI (Sept., 1951): 613-25. The *Galena Directory* for 1847 lists the fare for a trip from Galena to Boston and the length of time taken (p. 41): from Galena to Chicago, \$8 and 2 days; to Buffalo via Lakes, \$8 and 4 days; to Albany via railroad, \$11 and 1 day; to Boston, \$6 and 1 day — a total of \$33 and 8 days.

15. Hobbs, *Glamorous Galena*, 29-30.

16. The only record of the relations of the two men is a bill of sale in the county recorder's office dated Feb. 1, 1841, which shows that Thomas Melvill sold Gear two stoves, furniture, nine books and maps for \$151. Deed Book E, 371-72.



*Thomas Melvill (1776-1845),
from a portrait in the Berk-
shire Athenaeum, Pittsfield,
Massachusetts.*

of Main Street, where many controversies were settled without recourse to the courts. Melvill was also on the committee to consider introducing the common school system into Galena. The principal meeting to discuss this problem was held on March 10, 1838.¹⁷ In May of that year he served as one of the building commissioners considering proposals for erecting a chapel for the Episcopal Church;¹⁸ and on February 20, 1839, he was commissioned a notary public for Jo Daviess County for a term of four years.¹⁹

In addition, Thomas was one of the "managers" of the Galena Colonization Society, organized September 9, 1839, for the purpose of aiding the national society in "the colonization of the free people of color and manumitted slaves of the United States . . . on the coast of Africa." Melvill

17. *The History of Jo Daviess County . . .* (Chicago, 1878), 478.

18. *North Western Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, May 5, 1838.

19. Information from the office of Secretary of State, Springfield, Ill.

was a land agent as well. Many of the land agents prospered through speculation in cheap land for eastern investors. On February 1, 1840, a public meeting was held in Galena to discuss the controversy about the northern boundary of Illinois. Thomas Melvill was one of three men appointed to correspond with people in the disputed territory to ascertain their views, and was one of the leaders in the move to attach to Wisconsin that portion of Illinois north of a line running west from the southern tip of Lake Michigan. In March another meeting was held, and he became a member of the Central Corresponding Committee.²⁰ His name is found several times in the legal records of Jo Daviess County since he served, in various negotiations, as commissioner of sale, commissioner of foreclosure, and "a commissioner appointed by the Circuit Court of Jo Daviess County, in Chancery, at the June term A. D. 1843."²¹

Because of his civic activities and his position as a land agent, Thomas was well known to easterners coming west. For example, when Cadwallader Washburn (who in 1872 became governor of Wisconsin) arrived in Galena in June, 1839, he had a letter of introduction to Thomas Melvill. After their meeting, Washburn wrote that Major Melvill was "a first rate old gentleman . . . who has a very fine family."²² Melvill obtained employment for Washburn as assistant county surveyor, but Washburn turned down the offer since the position was not to open immediately.

In the summer of 1840, Herman Melville would have

20. *Jo Daviess County*, 481-82; on the Colonization Society, see also the *North Western Gazette*, Sept. 14, 1839; a more detailed treatment of the boundary dispute is in *The History of Ogle County . . .* (Chicago, 1878), 443-46.

21. Deed Book F, 499-500.

22. Quoted in Gaillard Hunt, *Israel, Elihu and Cadwallader Washburn: A Chapter in American Biography* (New York, 1925), 306.

found his uncle's name listed three times in each issue of the *North Western Gazette and Galena Advertiser*. First, Thomas Melvill ran a small advertisement on page one listing himself as a notary public:

Thomas Melvill, Notary Public, for Jo Daviess County, Ills. and Commissioner for taking acknowledgment of Deeds, depositions, &c. for the States of Massachusetts and Maine.

Second, there was an advertisement, usually on page three, for his General Agency Office, "which in the present state of things, seemed to be the only kind of business to which, I could turn my attention."²³

GENERAL AGENCY OFFICE

Thomas Melvill, Notary Public for Jo Daviess County, and Commissioner for the States of Massachusetts and Maine, offers his services for the purchase and sale of Real Estate, and Office business, payment of taxes, the adjustment of accounts and claims, making collections, and commissions generally.

Third, his name appeared in the list of officers of the Chamber of Commerce. Being secretary, he also inserted notices for the meetings:

NOTICE—A stated monthly meeting of the Galena Chamber of Commerce will be held on Monday next, 5th instant, at 4 o'clock, P.M. A punctual attendance is requested, according to the 2d article of the bye laws.

Galena March 1.

THOS. MELVILL, Sec'y.²⁴

Although the town of Galena was little affected by the 1837 depression, Thomas Melvill did not improve his position by moving west. When Herman arrived there in 1840,

23. Letter from Thomas Melvill to Lemuel Shaw, June 26, 1840, quoted in Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville, 1819-1891* (New York, 1951), 106.

24. The first two quotations are from the *North Western Gazette and Galena Advertiser* of June 5, 1840 (though these notices are virtually the same in every issue), and the third is from the issue of March 3, 1838.

he found Thomas and his family in a worse financial condition than they had been back in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Also, the family suffered from fever due to the unhealthy climate. Despite his prominence in civic life, Thomas was never elected to a political office — a fact he attributed to the large number of German and Irish immigrants who were allied with the Democratic Party.²⁵ Furthermore, he is not mentioned in the books of reminiscences of Galena men (such as McMaster's and Chetlain's) as being one of the prominent citizens. One still hears in Galena the story that Thomas was mixed up in a scandal and ordered out of town and that he and his wife separated, but no substantiation of this has been found. However, there was something strange about his position in the town which cannot be explained but which must have been the basis of these still current stories. In any event, if Herman Melville had had hopes of settling in the West under his uncle's sponsorship, he soon saw that Thomas could be of no great help since he had not been financially successful in Galena and had all he could do to look after his own family.

At that time Thomas was living in one part of a double house at 1009 Third Street, on the east side of the Galena River about two blocks from the levee. The other half of the house was occupied by his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dean. The house was part of an estate held for two minor children of Nehemiah Bates and was rented by the Melvills and Deans. It was a two-story brick house with a wooden porch along the front and an L-shaped addition on the north side at the rear. Two halls ran down the center of the house, and each side of the original house

25. William H. Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and "Redburn"* (New York, 1951), 152.



The house at 1009 Third Street, Galena, where Thomas Melvill lived in 1840, when he was visited by his nephew, Herman Melville.

had four rooms, two downstairs and two upstairs; the addition contained three rooms. There was a fireplace at each end. The house was on the west side of the street, and the Melvills lived in the north half, which had the L-shaped two-story addition.²⁶ Although there is no proof as to where Melville stayed in Galena, it would have been natural for him to live in this house with his uncle.

In addition to Mrs. Dean, several other children of Thom-

26. Mr. and Mrs. Walter J. Ehrler are the present owners of this house. Mrs. Ehrler states that the house was rented by the Melvills and Deans from 1838 until 1854, at which time it was purchased by Allan C. Melvill, son of Thomas. It remained in the Melvill family until 1916, when it was remodeled and made into a single house with one wide central hall.

as Melvill were living in Galena in the 1840's. By 1847, when the first issue of the *Galena Directory* appeared, Mrs. Melvill (that is, Thomas' widow) had moved to Bench Street on the west side of the Galena River. George Melvill (1826-1899), one of Thomas' sons, is listed as living with Mrs. Melvill and working as a clerk in Stahl's dry goods and grocery store.²⁷ He became a leading wholesale merchant in the 1850's and 1860's.²⁸ On November 30, 1885, after his mother's death, he filed a petition for letters of administration of his father's estate. The estate consisted of a claim against the United States of "unknown value perhaps of one hundred dollars."²⁹

The 1858 *City Directory* lists Robert Melvill (1817-1881), another son, as a clerk on the steamer *Northern Belle*.³⁰ He apparently arrived in Galena a few years after his parents; a receipt in the Jo Daviess County recorder's office, dated July 23, 1838, shows that he paid \$25 for "Lot No. 12 in Square No. 15" (corner of South and Dodge streets).³¹ However, he must have bought the lot while he was living in Pittsfield, since he was still there on August 29, 1840, at which time he wrote to Lemuel Shaw, "I shall proceed immediately [to Galena] and court fortune on the prairies of Illinois."³² According to the 1858 *Directory*, George Melvill was then "of Lorrain & Co.," and Allan

27. *The Galena Directory . . . for 1847-8*, p. 24.

28. A. L. Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Galena, 1899), 303.

29. Recorded in Oath Book 6, p. 124, and in Inventory Record 6, p. 137, in the Jo Daviess County Courthouse. Negotiations involving Melvills (other than those mentioned elsewhere in this article), recorded in the Jo Daviess recorder's office, are found in Deed Book C, 1944; D, 433; and F, 208-10, 505-6, 515-18.

30. *Galena City Directory for 1858-9*, p. 78.

31. Deed Book F, 286. In 1841 he sold this lot to H. H. Gear for \$80; Deed Book E, 532-33.

32. Letter from Robert Melvill to Lemuel Shaw, Aug. 29, 1840, quoted in Leyda, *Melville Log*, 108.

Melville (1833-1882), another of Thomas' sons, who came to Galena during the 1840's or 1850's, was "book keeper [for the] Galena Gas Light Co."

Besides visiting with his relatives, Herman Melville no doubt kept up with what was going on in Galena that summer. In May, 1840, the Mississippi was falling, but it began to rise about June 1. Also on June 1 the census taking began. The *Gazette* announced, "The penalty for refusing to answer questions is \$20 apiece." Some time during the summer Herman probably took an excursion to the Falls of St. Anthony, which he described in a discarded fragment of *The Confidence Man*.³³ The *Gazette* for June 5 states, "Pleasure trips to these Falls appear to be quite the go. Large parties of ladies and gentlemen have passed up on the steamboats *Loyal Hanna* and *Malta*." On June 22, we are told, the river was rising at the rate of four inches in twenty-four hours. By July 10 it was "falling very fast."

Except for such local items as these, news in the *Gazette* was almost exclusively national. The main news story for August 5 was headed, "The Harrison and Tyler Flag Waves Triumphant over the Log Cabins of Old Jo Daviess." A local event important enough to be inserted as a news item was the arrival of a theatrical troupe. On July 31 the Illinois Theatrical Company presented "the celebrated play in five acts called *The Stranger or Misanthropy and Repentance*, . . . the evening's entertainment to conclude with the laughable Farce called *My Neighbor's Wife*." On August 14 a Mr. Winchell appeared as "Crack" in *The Turnpike Gate*, and on August 28 the company presented *Macbeth*, followed by a comedy called *A Day after the Wedding, or a Wife's First Lesson*.

33. *Ibid.*, 107.

On August 31 the mails were late because the river was rising so rapidly. The *Gazette* for this day announced Captain Orrin Smith's purchase of the steamboat *Agnes*, which traveled from St. Louis to Galena in three and a half days. And a new vessel with "superior accommodations for passengers" was to leave St. Louis for Galena on September 1. A meeting was held on September 28 for "those favorable to the resuscitation of the Galena Lyceum." Also during this summer a Dr. Burhans delivered a series of private lectures on phrenology which led to the formation, in August, of a phrenological society.³⁴

These were some of the events which took place in Galena in the summer of 1840. Along with the description of the town and of Melville's western relatives, they are indicative of the general atmosphere in which he moved. In the absence of other evidence, Melville's connection with Galena must be reconstructed in this roundabout manner.

34. *Jo Daviess County*, 482.

Abolitionism Comes to Illinois

An associate professor of history at Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Merton L. Dillon has contributed a number of articles and book reviews to this Journal and other historical publications. Principally these have been about the antislavery movement, his chief research interest. At present he is making a study of the career of Benjamin Lundy, early Quaker abolitionist editor. Dillon is a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Southern History.

NEW IDEAS and institutions spread rapidly across the nation in the early nineteenth century. Transportation in the West was slow and arduous, goods scarce; nonetheless, the commodity of thought moved easily and abundantly, often well in advance of the more tangible products of civilized existence. The broadcloth-suited Boston Brahmin might have found that the newest ideas expressed on Leverett Street were already current in far-off Illinois, that the reform societies which met in Boylston Hall had their counterparts at the crossroads of lonely frontier settlements. Few ideas spread faster after 1830 than antislavery ideas. Few organizations in America ever became generally distributed more quickly than antislavery societies. If innovations in antislavery thought, method and organization appeared in Massachusetts, so were they to be found in Illinois, and at nearly the same time.

The publication of William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper, the *Liberator*, in 1831, symbolized the start of a new era in the antislavery movement. Of course, opponents of slavery

had not been inactive during the preceding decades. They had fostered genuine moral indignation among small groups of humanitarians over the continued existence of slavery. They had published important antislavery pamphlets and newspapers. They had even won substantial victories, one of the most notable being their success in defeating the attempt to call a constitutional convention in Illinois in 1824. But, despite these accomplishments, they had not succeeded in creating any general sentiment against slavery, nor had they been able to agree even among themselves on a way to end it. The response to their dedicated (though haphazard) efforts had been the worst that reformers could possibly receive — they were ignored. Neither North nor South had paid them much attention.¹

The situation in the 1830's was different. No longer would slavery be accepted simply as part of the natural order of things. Henceforth it would be either defended or condemned; its opponents would be listened to. They might be admired or they might be hated, but, as Garrison had predicted of himself, they would at least be heard.² The abolitionists who began their activities after 1830 created controversy wherever they or their writings appeared. They had adopted a simple — and harsh — solution to the riddle of how best to deal with slavery. Free the slaves right now, they demanded. The logic of their plan and the vigor with which they publicized it aroused fear and unrest throughout the nation. In response to the abolitionist campaign, men hitherto inarticulate were led to formulate their views and

1. For the earlier period of the antislavery movement, see Alice D. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831* (Boston, 1908) and Merton L. Dillon, "The Antislavery Movement in Illinois: 1824-1835," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLVII (Summer, 1954): 149-66.

2. "I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I

to express them. Men who previously had only harbored a quiet disapproval of slavery were encouraged to act in accord with their principles. Garrison's newspaper, publicizing the demand for immediate abolition, seemed to many to be the source of these developments in antislavery agitation. Wherever the *Liberator* was read it produced a reaction. Echoes of the new phase of the antislavery campaign were soon heard throughout the nation, even as far west as Illinois.³

Bond County in south central Illinois had long been a center of mild opposition to slavery, since it had been settled for the most part by southern-born Presbyterians who had moved North to escape the influence of a slaveholding society. Among the county's first settlers were the families of Robert and Daniel McCord and Alexander Robinson, who had moved there from Tennessee in 1816. Shortly thereafter, they were joined by a group of emigrants from South Carolina. The new arrivals came to Illinois after living for a time in Brown County, Ohio, a region noted for the strength of its antislavery sentiment.⁴ In Brown County they had belonged to the Red Oak Presbyterian Church, where they came under the influence of the Rev. James Gilliland, a native of North Carolina, who indoctrinated many of his parishioners with an abiding hatred for slavery.⁵

will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD." *Liberator* (Boston), Jan. 1, 1831.

3. Developments after 1831 may be followed in two concise works: Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939) and Russell B. Nye, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers* (Boston, 1955).

4. *Western Citizen* (Chicago), Dec. 30, 1842; Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898), 41.

5. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit . . . to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-five* (New York, 1859-1869), V: 137-38; Richard F. O'Dell, "The Early Antislavery Movement in Ohio" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1948), 53-54.

Members of the Bond County communities were therefore well informed on the evils of slavery, both through the personal experience of having lived in slave states and through persuasive religious argument. They translated their sentiments into action in 1824, when 79 per cent of the Bond County voters cast their ballots against the proposal to call a state constitutional convention, which was generally thought to be a scheme to make Illinois a slave state.⁶ They participated, too, in other kinds of reform activity. They aided in the establishment of Illinois College; they supported a representative of the American Tract Society; they formed the Bond County Society for the Suppression of Intemperance in Illinois, in 1825; and a year later they organized a county Bible society.⁷ In short, their community was characterized by ingrained antislavery sentiment and by the same institutionalized benevolent and reform activity which then absorbed the energy of similar Congregational and Presbyterian dominated communities farther east.

Their displeasure at slavery had been expressed thus far in reasonably restrained fashion, as was customary among antislavery spokesmen in the 1820's, and in the winter of 1830-1831 they framed their opposition in the old terms. On January 29, 1831, four weeks after Garrison's *Liberator* first appeared, the congregation of the Shoal Creek Presbyterian Church in the northwest part of Bond County met to observe a "day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer," designed to arouse Presbyterians everywhere to the slaves' distress. They also urged the Presbyterian General Assembly, the national governing body of the church, to expel slaveholders from

6. Theodore C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, XVIII; Springfield, 1923), 27.

7. Charles H. Rammelkamp, *Illinois College: A Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven, 1928), 10; *Illinois Intelligencer* (Vandalia), Sept.

membership in Presbyterian churches everywhere in the United States. After listening to an address on "the evils of slavery to the nation and the Church of Christ," the congregation resolved that "the buying, selling, or holding slaves for the purpose of gain, convenience, ease, or honor, is a scandal to the Presbyterian Church . . . , [and] every attempt to justify it by the Bible is a slander on that holy book." Slavery, they asserted, was an institution "contrary both to the precepts of the Christian religion, and the spirit of our civil institutions." Anyone who sanctioned it should not be considered "as a fit person for the gospel ministry, as a worthy member of the Christian Church, as a philanthropist, as a good and honest citizen, or even as a republican. . . ." Twenty-two church members signed the resolutions and instructed the secretary, William M. Stewart, to send the document off to the public press.⁸

The Bond County Presbyterians had left no doubt where they stood on slavery; nonetheless, their sentiments, although unambiguous, were reasonably conventional, their language mild, their demands limited. Men of uncommon antislavery zeal, on the other hand, might easily conclude in 1831 that such moderation no longer met the needs of the time. In Massachusetts, William Lloyd Garrison had so concluded and as a result had founded the *Liberator*. In Illinois, William M. Stewart, secretary for the Shoal Creek meeting, was of like mind. During February, 1831, Stewart apparently decided that the Shoal Creek congregation had been unduly restrained in expressing its opinions. The day for temporizing seemed to him to be past. The country needed not conciliation and compromise with slaveholders, he reasoned,

9, 16, 1825; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Aug. 25, Oct. 18, 1826.

8. *Illinois Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831.

but bold antislavery action. The only way to convert the North to antislavery views, Stewart believed, was to turn the religious denominations into antislavery organizations, and that process had not yet proceeded very far.⁹ Slavery still flourished in the United States with, Stewart believed, the connivance of Presbyterian Church officials. He would seek language suitable for conveying the full extent of his unbounded indignation at that fact.

Stewart may not yet have seen a copy of the *Liberator*, but the spirit of Garrisonian abolitionism clearly informed the diatribe he prepared. The Garrisonians seldom sought to make their doctrine of immediatism easy to bear. Abandoning the restraints of polite discourse, which had previously characterized most antislavery discussion, many new critics of the South's "peculiar institution" deliberately sought harsh language in which to couch their merciless condemnation of slavery and all those who practiced it. Sugar coatings were not for them — nor for Stewart. Few critics of slavery were ever more denunciatory than he, few antislavery documents more vituperative than those he wrote.

He had composed his letter, Stewart explained, merely in order to give the members of the Presbyterian Assembly "a very few *hints* on the subject of slavery." This, as he soon proved, was understatement indeed, for after informing the governing body of the church that it was "too late in the age of reform, to stand and argue the point whether slavery be right or wrong," he declared his intention of demonstrating to the Assembly, that "much honored body," that it was "very *inconsistent*, and *exceedingly corrupt*." He railed at the church officials for not making "one honest, or

9. Stewart to Elijah P. Lovejoy, July 30, 1836, Wickett-Wiswall Collection of Lovejoy Papers in the Southwest Collection of Texas Technological College, Lubbock.

faithful effort to rid the church of the evil" of slavery. "You profess to be followers of Christ and his apostles, who were honest men," he taunted, but "you are so different from those holy men as was Judas Iscariot from John the Divine." He accused them of being guilty of practicing "the most cruel tyranny on your fellows" (by whom of course he meant slaves), who, he added, "are as good as you." Furthermore, he charged, the Assembly contained within its inner circle perpetrators of the "most unhallowed and heaven-daring theft and robbery." That is, some of them owned slaves. As though all this were not enough, he concluded his letter by declaring it to be his "decided opinion," with which he was sure "any unprejudiced mind" would concur, that some members of the Assembly were "much more guilty and deserving of death than many who have been hanged for kidnapping."¹⁰

Two months later, his wrath not yet exhausted, Stewart published a second letter addressed to the same church body. This time he condemned the Assembly because it continued to tolerate "a legal system of injustice, oppression, cruelty, robbery and murder . . ." with full knowledge that its actions violated the law of God and the principles of republicanism.¹¹ The editor of the *Liberator* could hardly have done better. Garrisonian abolitionism had reached Illinois.

By the time Stewart published his two letters, some of the most vocal of the Bond County antislavery men had already begun to move north into the fertile region of Putnam County, Illinois,¹² where they settled the towns of Union Grove,

10. *Illinois Intelligencer*, March 12, 1831.

11. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1831.

12. Henry A. Ford, *The History of Putnam and Marshall Counties . . .* (Lacon, Ill., 1860), 36.

Hennepin, Florid and others. They were joined at Hennepin in 1831 by the Vermont-born journalist Hooper Warren, who had edited the antislavery *Edwardsville Spectator* in Madison County during the struggle to legalize slavery in Illinois in 1824.¹³ Stewart himself moved to Florid in 1832. Within a year or two, antislavery sentiment had practically disappeared from Bond County, whereas Putnam County, particularly the Hennepin and Union Grove settlements, had become one of the antislavery strongholds of the West.

Not all Stewart's associates in Putnam County could bring themselves to follow his leadership into the new, more aggressive phase of the rapidly evolving antislavery movement. Some no doubt held back because they resented the near hysteria with which Stewart and some other abolitionists approached the subject of slavery, but a more serious basis for a division in sentiment became evident with the appearance of copies of the *Liberator* in the county. The newspaper had begun to circulate among southern-born antislavery settlers in Bond County at least as early as the winter of 1831-1832. Soon, one of them, Robertus H. Stephenson, of Greenville, was acting as the newspaper's sole agent for Illinois, and probably through his direction copies reached his friends at Hennepin and Union Grove.¹⁴ As might have been predicted, the *Liberator* failed to win unanimous approval even among those determined enemies of slavery. Some found themselves "violently opposed" to the doctrine of abolition as they understood it from having read the newspaper.¹⁵ Aversion to slavery could easily be accompanied by a stubborn conviction of the Negro's innate inferiority

13. Carrie P. Kofoid, *Puritan Influences in the Formative Years of Illinois History* (Springfield, 1906), 25.

14. *Liberator*, March 3, 1832, Jan. 5, 1833.

15. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1834.

and of his unfitness to live in America as a free man. Many people, even among those whose antislavery sentiment could not be impeached, experienced difficulty in relinquishing their assumption that the slaves, when freed, must be transported out of the country. They were not yet ready to affirm the Negro's right to live permanently in the United States on a level of equality with other American citizens.¹⁶ The opposition of Stewart's associates to the abolitionist program as they read it in the *Liberator* stemmed then not so much from the principle of emancipation itself, with which most of them agreed, as from the abolitionist contentions (1) that the freed slaves must remain within the United States and (2) that the program of the American Colonization Society, designed to aid free Negroes to settle in Liberia, served to perpetuate slavery and must for that reason be denounced. "There is a most unparalleled prejudice here, among the people generally, against the Blacks," reported one observer in Putnam County.¹⁷

Resistance to abolitionist principles, although strong, could not halt the rising protest against slavery and the debasement of the American Negro, either in the nation at large or in Putnam County. Early in February, 1833, after having read the *Liberator* for several weeks, eleven men established the Putnam County Anti-Slavery Society, the only one in Illinois and one of the few anywhere in the West. A native of South Carolina, Samuel D. Laughlin, was elected president; William M. Stewart, vice-president; Robertus H. Stephenson, the *Liberator's* agent, who had recently moved from Bond to Putnam County, a director. The society's

16. Dwight L. Dumond, "Race Prejudice and Abolition: New Views on the Antislavery Movement," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, XLI (April, 1935): 377-85.

17. *Liberator*, March 29, 1834.

purpose, according to its constitution, was to secure universal equality of rights and privileges among mankind. To accomplish that end, the members pledged themselves to use their influence and all measures consistent with the word of God to "put down" slavery, and they promised to "discountenance all who acknowledge the right of man to hold property in man."

The founders had frankly based their society on the principle of immediatism as it was expounded in the *Liberator*, realizing that by so doing they flouted weighty public opinion. But lack of public approval failed to trouble such hardy members as William M. Stewart. Indeed, one is inclined to believe that men of his kind among the abolitionists basked in the heat of opposition. At one of their early meetings Stewart and the other members, fully apprised of the nationwide criticism directed toward Garrison's program and methods — and therefore toward themselves — defiantly resolved "that the course pursued by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, with respect to slavery, is patriotic and benevolent, and receives our warmest approbation." An increasing number in the county seem to have agreed, for the society prospered. By February 1, 1834, the date of the first anniversary meeting, the society's membership had increased from the eleven charter members to sixty.¹⁸

Presently, through Stewart's efforts, the antislavery activity in Putnam County came directly to the attention of national antislavery leaders. In the late spring of 1835 Stewart traveled to Pittsburgh as an official delegate to the annual meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly, whose members he had so thoroughly berated four years earlier. On that occasion he must have met Theodore Dwight Weld, the great

18. *Ibid.*

western antislavery leader, who was attending the Pittsburgh meetings in order to rally Presbyterian clerical and lay support for the antislavery crusade he had undertaken. Weld found forty-eight delegates at Pittsburgh prepared to commit themselves to the abolitionist cause.¹⁹ Among these, of course, was Stewart, who by that time required no persuasion from Weld or anyone else to allow himself to be counted a member of that select and growing group. Indeed his opposition to slavery was of at least as long standing as Weld's, and his purpose in attending the Assembly was much the same as Weld's.

Stewart chose not to remain quiet in his role as delegate at Pittsburgh. Obtaining the floor on June 8, he delivered an impassioned speech full of vivid descriptions of the horrors of slavery and replete with accusations of the church's complicity in the continuance of the institution. His address of 1835 equaled in vitriol, if it did not surpass, his antislavery letters of 1831. Garrison, admiring Stewart's oratorical display, printed the speech in the *Liberator* and praised Stewart for his "masterly effort that should embalm the memory of its author to the latest posterity." Garrison probably particularly relished in the westerner's remarks such pungencies as "monster of sin," "most odious and unchristian system of oppression," "unholy amalgamation," "tears and groans," "eyes that have been literally plucked from their sockets," "pains and violent deaths from the lash," "various engines of torture" and references to other assorted atrocities which, Stewart said, characterized slavery.²⁰

19. Weld to Elizur Wright, Jr., June 6, 1835, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844* (New York, 1934), I: 224-25.

20. *Liberator*, June 27, 1835.

Upon returning to Illinois, Stewart persuaded the Putnam County Anti-Slavery Society to consolidate its national ties by becoming auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society. Soon the county society was supplemented by a branch organized at Union Grove.²¹ By that time, antislavery sentiment had become common throughout northern and central Illinois, particularly among Presbyterians. It was general enough and respectable enough as early as the fall of 1834 to allow the Synod of Illinois to pass a vigorous antislavery resolution at the insistence of the church at Union Grove.²² But in spite of such evidence of growing opposition to slavery, probably no antislavery society was formed in Illinois outside the bounds of Putnam County until 1836.

The arrival that year of new settlers from Ohio considerably augmented the original antislavery element in Putnam County, for among them were relatives and associates of the veteran Quaker antislavery editor Benjamin Lundy and several former members of the church of the Rev. John Rankin, a famous southern-born abolitionist of Ripley, Ohio.²³ In 1838 Lundy himself moved from Philadelphia to Illinois and at Hennepin in Putnam County resumed publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the best known of the early antislavery newspapers.²⁴

In the same year, the Presbyterian Church at Union Grove — after years of trying to find a minister whose aboli-

21. American Anti-Slavery Society, *Second Annual Report* (New York, 1835), 86; *Third Annual Report* (New York, 1836), 99.

22. Synod of Illinois, New School, Minutes, I: 50, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

23. Nathan M. Thomas to Jesse Thomas, May 13, 1836, Nathan M. Thomas Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan; Kofoid, *Puritan Influences*, 25; on Rankin, see Dumond, *Antislavery Origins*, 7.

24. Fred Landon, "Benjamin Lundy in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* XXXIII (March, 1940): 58-59; [Thomas Earle], *Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy . . .* (Philadelphia, 1847).

tionist zeal satisfied the congregation — installed the Rev. James H. Dickey as pastor. Dickey met every test they could devise. A Virginia-born abolitionist, he had for years preached his doctrines in Ross County, Ohio, where he and his associates had made the Chillicothe Presbytery almost completely antislavery. His move to Putnam County placed him in similar ideological surroundings. Until the infirmities of age forced his retirement in 1854, he remained as pastor at Union Grove, conducting his numerous antislavery activities from that congenial headquarters. He had chosen his location well, for he was never required to encounter on his home ground the kind of stubborn opposition that plagued so many other western abolitionists.²⁵

These accessions gave Putnam County so solid an antislavery base that it remained a stronghold of antislavery thought and action throughout the ante-bellum decades. Although other important antislavery centers developed in the state, some of them perhaps of greater influence than Putnam County, in no other region in Illinois had opposition to slavery existed for so long or been adhered to by so large a portion of the population. Lecturers frequently went out from its antislavery societies in an effort to spread antislavery doctrine throughout northern Illinois;²⁶ its people participated freely in the secret, illegal work of the Underground Railroad, spiriting runaway slaves on their way to Canada;²⁷ even the wives and daughters of the Putnam abolitionists lived a few miles away at Lowell in La Salle County, but his newspaper was datelined Hennepin.

25. *Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1864* (Philadelphia, 1864), 118-32; Barnes and Dumond, eds., *Weld-Grimké Letters*, I: 272; on the Presbyterians' discontent with earlier pastors, see Nahum Gould Diary, *passim*, Chicago Theological Seminary.

26. *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (Hennepin), March 8, 1839; *Genius of Liberty* (Lowell), Dec. 4, 1841.

27. Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, 32, 41; John S. Burt and W. E.

tionists refused to be excluded from the increasing activity — in 1842 they formed the state's first antislavery society for women.²⁸

Citizens of Putnam County, too, helped to supply the leadership for the process that gradually transformed the antislavery crusade into a political movement.²⁹ At the convention of "Those Persons in Illinois favorable to Anti-Slavery Political Action" held at Lowell on February 25, 1841, the business committee included William Lewis from Putnam County, who was a brother-in-law of Benjamin Lundy, and James G. Laughlin, who had been elected a director of Putnam County's first antislavery society at its formation in 1833.³⁰

This convention resulted in the organization of the Liberty Party in Illinois — an action that clearly diverged from the principles of Garrison, whose newspaper had inspired the Putnam County abolitionists to begin their organized activity. By means of the *Liberator*, Garrisonian abolitionism had reached from Boston to the Illinois frontier, where it supplied direction to latent antislavery feelings. In Putnam County, for example, abolition sentiment stemmed from the hostility to slavery born of the experience of southern emigrants, from the reform spirit fostered by Presbyterianism and from Quaker humanitarianism. But after the initial impulse had been given, few in Illinois followed Garrison's leadership for any length of time.

There was little need to, of course, for local leaders came forward to organize an energetic antislavery movement Hawthorne, *Past and Present of Marshall and Putnam Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1907), 83-85.

28. *Western Citizen*, April 6, 1843.

29. *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, Oct. 6, 1838; *Genius of Liberty*, July 10, 1841.

30. *Genius of Liberty*, Feb. 27, 1841.

nearly independent of direct eastern aid.³¹ But more important, the Illinois abolitionists found that they could not concur with Garrison in his refusal to sanction the use of political action against slavery. The Putnam group, in common with most other westerners, eventually accepted the full use of governmental power as an antislavery weapon. Even William M. Stewart, who had once been Garrison's principal adherent in the region, parted ways with him on the issue of political antislavery action.³²

Despite Garrison's importance in stimulating them to increased antislavery activity, eventually only a few individuals in Putnam County, principally Quakers,³³ found themselves able to follow him with his later emphasis on woman's rights, nonresistance and the rejection of all human government.

31. By the time the abolitionists in Putnam County, Jacksonville, Springfield, Alton, Quincy, Galesburg and other centers started co-ordinated action, the American Anti-Slavery Society had begun to decline. The national society never gave much tangible aid to Illinois abolitionists.

32. *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, Oct. 6, 1838.

33. Lydia L. Lewis to Nathan M. Thomas, Dec. 6, 1855, Thomas Papers.

Historical Notes

Grandfather Burgess Was a Forty-Niner

Joseph H. Burgess, my grandfather, made the trip across the plains and mountains to the California gold fields in 1849. When his farm home burned many years ago, it is probable that many historically important documents were lost. A few, which were in the hands of others, have come to me, and the purpose of these notes is to report on those small fragments.

As children, our generation had been told of some of Grandfather Burgess' experiences by our mother, who had heard his adventures firsthand. We knew that he had gone to California, that he did not find much gold but made a fair amount of money in livestock, and that he was almost killed by a grizzly bear near where Davis, California, now stands.

Among the few documents we have is a letter which he wrote to a Charles P. Jackson. It was written at Kangley, La Salle County, Illinois, and was dated February 27, 1891. Grandfather always claimed his group was the first to arrive at the gold fields, and he repeated the claim in this letter, which, in part, says:

Enclosed I sent you \$2 00 it being my annual Dues, to the Western Association of Callifornia Pioneers. . . . In a former note from you you mentioned sompthing that I told you about being the first man but you had forgotten I will explain It, I was one of the three men that Oned and drove the first teame into the Gold mines from the states of 1849 we ware the first to cross the sumit the firs to Hang Town the first to Sutters Fort and the first to Sacramento City, and helped to cleare away the Brush whare the City now stands.

ower	JOHN KIRKPATRICK
naimes	JOSEPH C HAMER
	JOSEPH H BURGESS

The Burgess family emigrated from England in 1630 and settled in Massachusetts. After many generations on Cape Cod, that part of the family represented by Joseph and his parents moved to New Jersey for a short stay and then on to Illinois, where they

settled in La Salle County in 1837. The location selected was about two miles southeast of the village of Tonica, and they broke from the early pioneer pattern by establishing themselves on the prairie instead of in or near woodland. The *Tonica News* for June 8, 1951, says:

The Burgesses were considered a brave family to live on the prairie so far (?) from the timberland. They built a one-room log cabin and made a sod fence on the east side of that place. They also planted a row of walnuts they had brought from the east just outside this sod fence. . . . The family had little money, but a determination to develop and improve the raw prairie soil. But the father was not long permitted to enjoy his new home.

Joseph's father died in 1842, leaving a family of ten children. There were lean years thereafter, and in 1848 Grandfather was, he says, "an Aprentice and worked in A flowering mill in the vilage of Lowell Lasall Co Illinois." The *Tonica News* article goes on to state that he "hauled pork to Chicago and sold it for \$1.50 per hundred pounds and brot back lumber used in building the mill at Lowell."

Affected as he must have been by the new frontier, by exciting national events and an unstable personal economy, it is not surprising that he was impressed with the news of gold at Sutter's Mill, when this information reached Illinois in 1848.

Among the few papers of Joseph Burgess which remain are two laboriously handwritten manuscripts. Neither was finished, and one ends in mid-sentence, but they are interesting even in their incompleteness.

One of these papers, titled "Memories of the trip Across the plaines," tells of the initial activities of a small group of men who formed a part of the vanguard of the mass movement of 1849. It starts as follows:

Some time in the latter part of the years 1848 news come to the states of the Discovery of Gold in Callifornia I was at the time an Aprentice and worked in A flowering mill in the vilage of Lowell Lasall Co Illinois I had A relative by the naime of Joseph Hamer. We ware great friends he lived out in the Countrey A few miles Distant We ware together as often as circumstances would admit We

both got the Callifornia fever from the very first news of the discovery of Gold but I was an aprintas my time would not be out for over a yeare. this gave me a great deal of uneasiness We finley Concluded that Hamer should get us A wagon made for the trip. . . . I was determined to go but had as little to say as possible for feare of my imployers objection to it some time in february the Ice in the River broke up As there had been a chainge in the weather with heavy raines the river rose very rapidly the Ice went out and the mill dam went with it. in a few days after the Dam went out I got a releast from my imployers. . . .

Hamer had Grandfather's oldest brother make the wagon, which "proved to be a good one, . . . and to be the first waggon from the states that crossed the Siera . . . into the gold mines of Callifornia." Hamer was busy during the winter getting the outfit ready; meanwhile, "John Kirkpatrick A friend had been taken with the fever and he assisted Hamer by furnishing A part of the outfit." These three made up the La Salle County party. They shopped around and purchased "fore yok of as good Cattle" as they could get.

About this time they heard of five men in Putnam County, Illinois, who were also planning on making the trip. This party consisted of Lemuel Statler, Jacob Burnem, Billings More and two brothers, Allen and Harvey Evens (spellings from the original). Grandfather says, "One of the Company, by the name of Harvey Evens, had crossed the plaines to Oregon and Back so he was aquainted with the Rout to Fort Hall." The Putnam County group was known as the "Magnoley bois" according to the manuscript. The two groups joined, and the party consisted then of eight men, two wagons and seven yoke of oxen. The actual starting of the expedition is described as follows:

we maide araingements for J C Hamer to take ower team and join the Magnoley bois and to strik across the River at that point thare hapened to be a Steame Boat thare on her way down to St Louis the Captain ofered to take the whole outfit down to St Louis for \$25 00 and warant them A passage to St. Jo for \$30 00 more the boys excepted his termes and shiped the whole outfit John Kirkpatrick and myself ware to go by St Louis to finish getting A portion of ower outfit it was several days before we got word that the boys had gon

by water as Daley Mailes were not thought at them times Ower teames got through to St Jo in splendid condition Kirkpatrick was detaned until the 7 of April when we left Perue on a steamer for St Louis and St Jo the boys met us at the wharf took ower goods to camp that afternoon and night was A busy one for us in ower camp making preperations to cross the Missouria the next morning which was the 24 day of April 1849

That is where the "Memories of the trip Across the plaines" ends. If it is true that the La Salle County group was the first into the gold fields in 1849, it could be accounted for by the water trip from northern Illinois to St. Joseph, and Harvey Evens' knowledge of the trail as far as Fort Hall. Nothing further is said concerning the "Magneley bois" in any of the material which remains.

Grandfather did not profit from gold directly, but he did quite well in other ways. The second manuscript, untitled, begins:

in the summer and fall of 1851 I bought up A lot of cattle from the emegrants as they came in from the plaines we cold get them very cheap as they ware generuley very poor or thin in flesh by hearding on good pastures threw the winter they wold get very fat. . . . fat Catle brought a good prise in particular in the mines. . . .

Grandfather's encounter with the bear occurred some time after the first of the year, 1852, and the manuscript was apparently intended to describe this event. It never got to the point, however.

As he stated, he was buying cattle from the immigrants in the fall of 1851. He selected a place to herd them "12 miles as we called the distance west of Sacramento City on putah creek, or near the Davises and Browns ranches on what was called at early days the island." On the camp side of the creek there was open timber and not much brush, but to the south and across the creek there were dense thickets for a half mile down to where it emptied into the "Tuley swamps." To go back to his manuscript:

in the fall that the MtGomerys Boys settled thare thare was A man living with them that was a hunter he seamed to think that he cold kill a Grisley Bare allmost at his leshure as he was a very stout man thare had ben signs of Bares seen across the Creek so one afternoon he took his gun and a large BoenKnif an started out across the Creek to hunt for Deer as they ware very plent along the thickets of Brush on the opposite side he never caime back againe

On the second day after the hunter's disappearance eleven men formed a search party and crossed the creek. They were well armed except for a soldier who carried only an axe to clear a trail through the brush, "when [in] about the thickest part of it they herd a corse Grawl and a great rumpus in the Brust they soon all became satisfied of the fact that they ware close to a Grisley Bare and like Cautious men they all retreated for the openings. . . ."

The following summer three men, Joshua Hall of southern Illinois, William M. Allen of Indiana and a man identified only as Mr. Sluzbuck from Texas, took up a claim on the south side of the creek. As they were clearing away the brush for a line, they noticed some clothing hanging on a branch. It was a man's vest, and close to it they found the remains of the hunter. There appeared to have been a "desperate" fight; the man's gun had been fired, and his knife was missing. As they reconstructed the battle, the man had been badly injured but had enough strength left to bend down a branch and fasten his vest onto it, letting the branch fly back up in the hope that others would see it and come to his aid. And here is how Grandfather's second manuscript ends:

I will now try to give you my expearence with what was supposed to be the saime Bare that killed the man from the MtGomery Camp the Rainey Season Set in about the 12 of October Abouth the first of Jan 51 and 52 the high waters had prety well filled up the Tuley swamps so the Deer and Elk and Bare had left them for higher

Unfortunately that is as much as he wrote. The story, as we had it in the family, was that he and his partner separated as they were hunting. He came upon a grizzly bear and shot it. But the bear was only wounded and charged Grandfather, plowing great furrows across his back with its long front claws. The partner owned a dog which had elected to go with Grandfather, and the dog attacked the bear as it was occupied with Grandfather, diverting its attention until the partner arrived and killed the animal. Afterward, the claws were cut off and hung on a string. They were lost in the fire previously mentioned.

An interesting sidelight to this episode occured in 1927. Some time during that year Grandfather's youngest son, Elwin Burgess,

obtained a western adventure story titled *Saddles and Lariats*, by Lewis B. Miller (B. Estes and Co., 1912). The book devoted one whole chapter to an attack by a California grizzly upon a man by the name of Joe Burgess. This appeared to be more than coincidence, so a letter was sent to the author, who was living near Hico, Texas. Miller replied immediately:

Yes, both my mother and father were well acquainted with your father, the Joe Burgess of my story, in those long ago days before the Civil War. . . . My father came to Texas first in 1849. . . . He met your father in the camp near Little River, and what followed afterwards, I have told in "Saddles and Lariats" . . . my mother recollects hearing my father say to his brother, Uncle Henderson Miller, that he thought more of Joe Burgess than any man he ever knew that wasn't akin to him. Also that if Joe ever should go broke, my father would divide his last cent with him. However, your father was considered a rich man in those days. . . .

How long Grandfather was incapacitated by the bear attack we do not know. But later he did go to Texas, where he purchased a herd of longhorns and attempted to drive them back to California. By that time, though, Indian trouble had increased, and he turned the herd to St. Louis and disposed of it.

With the money thus obtained he returned to La Salle County, Illinois, bought a farm near Kangley, married, and settled down to the more prosaic life of farming and rearing a family of seven children. So far as we know, he never returned to California except for short visits.

Joseph H. Burgess, who was born February 2, 1826, died at Kangley on May 8, 1898.

HARLOW BURGESS MILLS
Urbana, Illinois

The Madstone, a Medical Curio

Dr. James Squire (1843-1929) of Carrollton, Greene County, Illinois, was a typical country doctor who practiced his profession in that area for forty years. Among the heirlooms he left his descendants (the writer is a great-grandson) is a madstone — now

a medical curio but once an important part of the pioneer doctor's kit — which was used to draw the poison from the wounds of the victims of mad dog bites and snake bites.

Dr. Squire's madstone is a highly porous, bone-colored stone, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide by 2 inches long and 1 inch thick. It has three flat surfaces and appears to have been cut from a larger stone. The madstone was used by applying it to the wound where it was supposed to adhere until the poison was absorbed, when it would fall off. The stone would then be soaked in warm milk to remove the poison. The milk would acquire a greenish yellow scum which was supposed to contain the poison, and the purified stone was ready for use again.

His heirs have not been able to discover whether or not Dr. Squire ever used his madstone, but they do know that he was very much interested in it and prized it highly. This is shown by affidavits and testimonials which he left with it.

Dr. Squire kept the madstone in a cylindrical cardboard container with a screw-on metal cap. On this container are prescription blanks with the following notations in the doctor's handwriting:

This "Madstone" was/ Purchased by/ Dr. Squire from Mr. John Rice/ Cured or prevented/ Chas Vigus from Hydrophobia./ When Robt. White was bit by/ same "Dog" (Grayhound) owned/ by Luman Carter died/ from Hydrophobia. Statement/ in this box./ also/ Wm. Kohl of Woody was/ bit by Copperhead Snake &/ cured him upon application/ Fieldon, Ill/ Dr. Washburne/ 1st Owner/ Value of Stone not known/ If any person steals this stone he is/ an "enemy" to his race/ and all good.

Inside this cardboard container are three testimonials written on Dr. Squire's office stationery. The first of these, with the spelling and punctuation unchanged, reads:

"MADSTONE"

Certificate of genuineness and identity —

State of Ill. }
Greene County } ss

CARROLLTON, ILL.,
OCTOBER 8TH 1904

This is to certify per affidavit that I sold to Dr James Squire of Carrollton Ill. a portion or part of my "Madstone" and I obtained it from Dr. Washburn of Fieldon and it is the "Stone" now possessed

HISTORICAL NOTES

by Dr. Squire is the same identical Stone that I used upon Charles Vigus for "Dog bite" and the Stone adhered to the wound which I can testify to as a fact. I also applied the Stone above designated to Mr. Kohl of Woody, he having been bitten by a "Snake" (Copper-head) and the Stone adhered and drew the virus therefrom and cured him without any other medicine whatever.

I thus identify & testify that the Stone above is a True and Jenuine "Madstone"

JOHN RICE

The second testimonial reads as follows:

Chas. Vigus — Certificate of the virtue
of a Madstone in the possession of
Dr. James Squire

CARROLLTON, ILL OCT 9, 1904

Statement & Testimony

I Charles Vigus of Carrollton, Ill. make this statement and testify to the same —

I was bitten on the leg by a "Dog" (GrayHoune) and having heard that Mr. Jno. Rice of Woody had a "Madstone" and the dog having "Hydrophobia", I went to his home in "Woody" the next day Thursday after being bitten on Saturday by the dog, and he gave me a "Stone" & I applied it to the bitten or lacerated place on my leg and it *adhered* to it *several* (7 at least) *times* upon application and I took *no Medicine* at all and have had no bad effects from the said "*Dogbite*" — I now freely testify that the virtue by reason of its "Extracting power" of poisons, was invaluable to me, and also I identify the stone owned by Dr. James as the stone used by me when in possession of Mr. John Rice of Woody — It is a jenuine *Madstone* & saved me from Hydrophobia & Death.

CHARLES VIGUS

Another testimonial by the same man is as follows:

CARROLLTON, ILL OCT 9 1904

To Whom this Concerns—

Having been treated by the "Madstone" of Dr. Squire and being bitten by a Dog of Luman Carters' a "Grayhound" and treated by the application of the "Stone" before me; the stone adhered to the wound on my leg many times and pulled the flesh by its drawing properties and when soaked in milk turned it green thus exhibiting the poison drawn from my system. At the same time

& by this same "Dog" Robert White was bitten on "face" but was treated by Physicians and not treated by this stone, but had Hydrophobia and died a horrible death and thus I feel grateful & and can certify that my life was saved by the Madstone now owned by Dr. Jas Squire —.

CHARLES VIGUS

Dr. James Squire was born on December 11, 1843, in Godfrey, Illinois, the son of William Squire, Jr., and Lydia Widaman Squire. Before becoming a doctor (in 1889), he served in the Civil War, taught school in Madison County for thirteen years and was county superintendent of schools for four years more. He married Martha Braden of Nameoki, Illinois, in 1874. They were the parents of three children: Grace Virginia (Mrs. William A. Hubbard, of Carrollton), Pearl Martha (Mrs. Fred Gerbing, of Havana, Illinois) and James William, who died in infancy.

The first Mrs. Squire died in 1882, and in 1885 Dr. Squire married Marguerite Gillham, who was one of the first women physicians in Illinois. The two Drs. Squire were known throughout the area as "Dr. James" and "Dr. Marguerite."

WALTER H. CHEELY
Melrose Park, Illinois

Oak Park's Bit of the Forest Primeval

The forest primeval grows in Oak Park on ground never cultivated by white men and probably not by the aborigines. There one will see no angles or straight lines, nothing that is man-made except an obscure paved path and a few benches. Only one block distant from Lake Street and the Lake-Marion commercial district one may rest, disturbed only by birds and squirrels and a faint hum from traffic that could be an obligato to thought and dreams.

The forest, officially a part of Austin Garden, takes up two acres of the four in this gift to the village. It is all that is left of hundreds of acres once owned by Henry Warren Austin, who came to this region in 1850. His estate included much of what is now Oak Park and Austin, the latter community now a part of Chicago.

A great boulder carries a bronze plate dedicating the four acres as "Austin Garden, presented to the park district of Oak Park by Henry Warren Austin in memory of his father Henry Warren Austin." The second Austin also set up a trust fund to provide an income for maintaining the garden in accordance with his will. Appraised value of the land in 1947 was \$102,000. The forest, according to the will, is never to be changed in any manner that seems artificial.

The remainder of the land is a meadow on which stands the Austin family home, built in 1860. The meadow is never to be used for games. It, like the forest, is only to be seen and felt, an adornment and not for play, except for children who may gambol there or run like Indians in paths through the forest.

The donor of the land was born in the house — he lived as man and boy in the room in which he was born, and he died in that room eighty-three years after his birth. The father served in the state legislature (1870-1872) and the son was there for twenty years as a representative and senator. The latter introduced the bill requiring all automotive vehicles to carry an identification plate and to pay a tax. To this day, the Austin family automobile carries Illinois license plate No. 2. Like his father, the younger Austin was a "total abstainer," and he boasted of it and was proud to support the views of his father, who, shortly after the Civil War, wiped out all the saloons in the village by buying them out. Never since have intoxicating beverages been sold in Oak Park. The first Austin was active in the Prohibition Party and once was its candidate for President. The donor of the garden and his wife (often referred to as "Oak Park's First Lady") were generous of their time and money in projects designed for the common good. He founded the Oak Park Trust and Savings Bank and was active there till his death in 1947.

In a distant corner of the garden is a decaying ornate "summer house" designed and built about seventy-five years ago. Such structures were required then for elegant diversions, such as the serving of tea and cake on a summer afternoon. This interesting house was so used when women wore garments down to their very shoe

soles and when it was not proper even to assume that a woman was a bifurcated creature; she had feet but no legs, and "legs" was a word never spoken in polite society. Then, sun tan was a menace; it was proper to be pale, for pallor was a symbol of the leisure class. Parasols and hats always protected a lady from sunshine. Today the meadow in Austin Garden is often a pad for a lady exposing at least 75 per cent of her epidermis to sunshine, the hotter the better. Now, tan is symbol of the leisure class, so women seek tan in garments that fifty years ago would have put them beyond the pale of virtue.

The forest primeval has looked down on many changes, and, if the will of Henry W. Austin is enduring, it will no doubt see even more startling changes.

OTTO McFEELY
Oak Park

Illinois Scrapbook

A Humorous History Lesson

Under the heading "Vive L'Ill-i-NOY the *Chicago Sun-Times* on August 4 published an editorial that combined historical erudition and humor in a rare blend that should interest all readers of this *Journal*. Permission has been granted to republish it here:

The *Western Courier*, student newspaper of Western Illinois University at Macomb, advocates pronouncing Illinois in some such barbaric manner as Ill-i-NOISE.

Illinois, correctly pronounced Ill-i-NOY, has a beautifully liquid sound akin to that of a gentle wind rustling through fields of green corn, or to that of the placid flow of its meandering streams.

"Ill-i-NOISE," so says the *Western Courier*, "is English. Ill-i-NOISE suits a state that makes a big noise. Illinois is the most American part of the continent. Let's speak our name in English."

Tut, tut, students! Don't you know, according to an enactment by the all-wise who sit in Springfield and govern our destinies, that English is not the language of Illinois (whether it be Ill-i-NOY or Ill-i-NOISE)?

The official language, spoken or misspoken, written or miswritten, in Illinois is American, not English.

The *Western Courier*, in asking Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill.) to join it in a campaign to pronounce Illinois Ill-i-NOISE, writes:

"Illinoy is French. [And that it is, in part.] Senator, join us in the last-ditch fight to remove the last vestige of French influence. Remember that at the Treaty of Paris, France gave up all claims to the Midwest."

As historians, the editors of the *Western Courier* get passing grades. In other respects, they flunk.

Illinois (Illinoy) has many vestiges of French influence. Joliet, Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia, Creve Coeur, Des Plaines, Fort Chartres, Cahokia, La Salle, Menard and Bourbonnais are but a

few of the place names in Illinois which would have to be changed were the last vestige of French influence to be removed from the Ill-i-NOISE of the *Western Courier's* advocacy.

Of course, the Western Illinois University students could, if they would but take themselves seriously, start a bit closer to home in the campaign to eradicate the last vestige of French influence. The La Moine River cuts across the southwest corner of McDonough County, wherein is located Western.

They might rename that stream the Military Reserve River. For McDonough County is a part of what was set aside, following the War of 1812, as the military reserve, a tract of land in which any honorably discharged serviceman could get a free homestead.

The Military Reserve lies between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers and south of a line drawn from the Big Bend in the Illinois River across to the Mississippi. As most of the servicemen in the War of 1812 came from New England, so did most of the settlers of the Military Reserve.

So today one finds throughout the old Military Reserve such place names as Quincy, Adams, London Mills, Avon, Colchester, Pittsfield, Castleton, New Windsor, Cameron, Abingdon, Knoxville, Stronghurst, Smithshire, Smithfield and Vermont.

A sovereign state, no less than a sovereign nation, frequently tells its history in its names and in their pronunciations.

Even as the word Illinois tells us of the Illini Indians, longtime residents of these parts, and does so with a French suffix, so do others relate stories of past glories.

Cerro Gordo, down in Piatt County, may strike a note somewhat discordant in a community of otherwise English names. But the harmony is apparent when one recalls the Fourth Illinois. That regiment fought gloriously against Santa Anna's troops at the Battle of Cerro Gordo in Mexico in 1847. Upon its return, some of its members sought to immortalize their feats by naming a new town in which they settled Cerro Gordo.

And so it goes: Watseka, a thriving community in Iroquois County, was named after a Potawatomi heroine. One can only

conjecture as to Bone Gap in Edwards County, Bath in Mason or Polo in Ogle.

But Cairo (pronounced KAY-ro in southern Illinois) or New Athens (pronounced New AY-thens locally) or New Berlin (pronounced New BURR-lin in Sangamon County) are examples of what the *Western Courier* would do. Even worse is the pronunciation of San Jose in central Illinois. There it is San JOHSS instead of San Ho-Zay.

Ill-i-NOISE?

Never. Change the name of the Spoon River to Edgar Lee Masters, if you must; pronounce the Embarrass River em-BEAR-uss if you can't do otherwise; and call Kankakee Can-KHAKI if you insist.

But change Ill-i-NOY to Ill-i-NOISE? Not so long as PEA-or-i-a sits on her hills or CHI-ca-go endures.

Do as you will with Bonnie, Tallula, Virginia, Flora, Anna, Nora, Coleta, Lena and Rosiclare. Ava, Pocahontas, Elizabeth and Addeyville, too.

But change Illinoy to Illinoise? Not so long as the Cache, the Mauvaise Terre and the Mackinaw flow across Illinois prairies. Not so long as Sadorus and Pesotum stand. Not while Buncombe and Hooppole flourish.

Illinois is Ill-i-NOY and never shall become Ill-i-NOISE.

And if the students at Western Illinois University don't drop this foolishness the suggestion for renaming that institution Western Illinois State Teachers College may be forthcoming. So beware!

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Mounting public efforts to prevent the destruction of manuscripts, books and pictures of the Civil War have resulted in a large influx of such material into the Historical Library. Collections vary in size from a handful of letters to those numbering several hundred, and from a handwritten diary of only a few pages to a printed volume of reminiscences.

Many facets of the war are illustrated in these collections. Hospital-oriented are the 1863-1865 letters of Private Samuel S. Walker of the Fifty-first Illinois Infantry. After suffering a chest wound Walker was hospitalized in Louisville, Chattanooga and Quincy. Despite his confinement, he appears to have had a wide knowledge of the war and of his former comrades. His letters also shed some light on soldier voting in the election of 1864 and on civilian life in wartime. The Walker papers were the gift of David Evans of Springfield, Illinois.

From D. L. Denney of Wichita, Kansas, has come a typewritten history of the Seventeenth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, which was compiled by a former corporal,

George A. Smith. Inasmuch as the history was dated December 25, 1913, and was written for his grandchildren, it would be safe to assume that Smith intended it as an unusual Christmas present.

Among other out-of-state donors are the grandchildren of James P. Suiter of the Eighty-fourth Illinois Infantry. They have given Suiter's letters and diaries to the Library. These papers include descriptions of the Siege of Atlanta as well as accounts of the Battles of Chickamauga, Chattanooga and Look-out Mountain.

From J. D. Garrett of Chattanooga, Tennessee, have come military papers of three members of the Moore family of Warren County, Illinois. This collection consists primarily of commissions, discharges, pension papers and records of GAR activities.

In 1861 the Rev. Clement Moore Butler was pastor of the pro-Southern Episcopal Trinity Church in Washington, D.C. In a series of letters written from the nation's capital that year, Butler discusses Abraham Lincoln, the death of Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, the early battles of the Civil War

and the formation of a chaplains' organization.

In 1885 Brevet Brigadier General Joseph Stockton compiled a "diary" based on letters he had written his wife during the Civil War. The letters have since been destroyed, but the "diary" of his experiences from July 23, 1862, to August 15, 1865, was recently presented to the Historical Library by the General's grandson, Walter T. Stockton of Evanston.

Letters relating to former Governor Joseph Fifer and his family provide a heart-rending story of the tragedies suffered by an Illinois family during the war. Beginning October 8, 1861, and ending August 17, 1864, this correspondence describes life in the service and tells how one Fifer son (Joseph) was wounded and another (George) killed.

Both boys hoped to save vast amounts of money while in the service and often discussed the large land and cattle purchases they would make when discharged. But their plans for returning home fell apart when "Jo" was wounded near Jackson, Mississippi, on July 13, 1863. Later the same day, George wrote to their father requesting him to come and take "Jo" home. Before six months had passed, George was dead, killed in Texas. The family's heartbroken but proud acceptance of his death in

battle is evident in the letters they wrote to friends who made arrangements for the burial.

The most interesting and extensive recent acquisition is the papers of Captain Philip Welshimer, Company B, Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers. These include muster and pay rolls of his company, whose onetime regimental commander was an obscure colonel, U. S. Grant. The letters written by Welshimer, dating from May 10, 1861, to September 27, 1864, reveal his love for his family, provide a graphic account of life in the army, and contain critical remarks about another of his superior officers.

Mrs. Welshimer and her children were greatly distressed upon being informed that the Captain was reported missing at the Battle of Chickamauga, but much to their relief they soon learned he had been taken prisoner. His letters from October 16, 1863, to September 27, 1864, recount his experiences in Libby Prison, where he was held for seventeen months. In 1908 his daughter published in his memory *A Brief Sketch of the Prison Life of Capt. Philip Welshimer*. The collection, including a copy of that book, was presented to the Historical Library by the Captain's grandson, Philip Welshimer, of Homewood, Illinois.

BERNARD WAX

Book Reviews

JANE ADDAMS: A CENTENNIAL READER

Edited by Emily Cooper Johnson, with an Introduction by William O. Douglas. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1960, Pp. xix, 330. \$6.00.)

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

By Jane Addams, with an Introductory Essay by John Dewey. Centennial Edition. (G. K. Hall & Company: Boston, 1960. Pp. xxii, 267. \$1.25.)

The one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jane Addams, September 6, 1860, at Cedarville, which was celebrated in the last issue of this *Journal*, is marked most appropriately by the publication of these two books. The first is a collection of extracts from Jane Addams' writings over a period of nearly half a century, taken from more than a score of books, magazine articles, proceedings, reports and newspaper accounts.

Planned and developed under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which Jane Addams was a founder and first head, this book is arranged in sections which embrace the wide range of Jane Addams' life: social work, position of women, child welfare, the arts, trade unions and labor, civil liberties and international peace. Each section is introduced by an authority who appraises Jane Addams' contribution to that field. For example, Roger N. Baldwin tells of the importance of her

staunch application of the Bill of Rights in the defense of minority groups and nonconformist individuals and her part in the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union.

While the scope of the book is world-wide and the appeal of the subject knows no national lines, there are many sections of double interest to Illinois readers. Among these are the humorous pages about the opening and operation of the pioneer social settlement, Hull House, at Polk and Halsted streets, Chicago, in 1889, and those about the battle for child labor regulation, hours limitation and other trail-blazing labor legislation at Springfield in the Altgeld administration, 1893-1897.

Twenty Years at Hull House will remain the Jane Addams classic of American autobiography, but this new *Reader* becomes at once the single most valuable book of her thoughts, efforts, achievements, experiences, proposals and ideals. It ought to have been placed in every American

library, school as well as public or private, by the end of 1960.

The second title represents the third publication of Jane Addams' report on the more than 1,100 women who "braved ridicule and red tape in 1915 to gather at The Hague in an effort to stop the war then raging" and then went on to fight the battle for peace between the wars. It was published first in 1922 and again in 1945. This edition is made possible by a grant from the Sidney Hillman Foundation, in memory of the first president of the Amalgamated Clothing

Workers of America. That, too, is fitting at the time of Jane Addams' centennial, for she opened the doors of Hull House to the sweatshop workers who had no other place to meet for the purpose of organizing themselves into a union to deal with their exploiters.

The book's blue and orange jacket — which shows Jane Addams in dark silhouette, by the light of a white torch, writing against an outline background of Hull House — is an artistic and social inspiration.

IRVING DILLIARD
Collinsville

INDIAN LIFE IN THE UPPER GREAT LAKES, 11,000 B.C.
TO A.D. 1800

By George Irving Quimby. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1960. Pp. xv, 182. \$5.95.)

It is very difficult to write a book for the layman and the professional both — especially when the subject covers a large region and a long span of time. George Quimby has set out to do just this in his book *Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800*. For the most part he is successful.

Quimby does an excellent job of explaining the geological history of the Great Lakes region and how successive stages in the retreat of the glaciers affected environment, which, in turn, affected the cultures of the people living in the area at the time. He

has digested an enormous amount of material which he presents clearly and succinctly. He does not digress from his general account to debate the finer points, but he does make it clear that there are differences of opinion in the interpretation of the Upper Great Lakes sequence. He gives ample information about his sources for the interested reader, but he does not clutter the page — or, for that matter, the mind of the casual reader — with detailed footnotes. This approach is not unscholarly. What it does do is to provide a good set of references for the anthropologist and an ex-

BOOK REVIEWS

cellent introduction for the layman.

Unfortunately, Quimby does not manage to maintain such a nice balance throughout his book. He becomes a little too streamlined for the anthropologist and a little too disjointed for the non-professional. His summaries of prehistoric and historic cultures are more than adequate, but he does not always tie them together. He discusses each culture separately, mentioning many factors — environment, migration, language, kinship system, economy, technology, etc. However, he does little, by means of maps or comment, to draw all these factors together. He does not show how they interact to influence the shape and form of local cultures, nor does he draw the pattern that these cultures make in time and space.

If only the author had continued as he began, showing the relationship between environment and culture, then adding to this

the influence of cultures on each other!

Perhaps this is asking too much. But without taking off on flights of theory, Quimby could have clarified certain points. His verbal descriptions are not always enough. More maps and charts could help the reader to follow the sequence of cultures and see their connections. Certainly, a map showing the probable range of prehistoric cultures is very much needed.

As it is, the book is valuable for its sound summary of the data we have on the Upper Great Lakes Indians in historic and prehistoric times. It is a book to read as an introduction to the region and to the study of Indians in general. It is also a book to own for reference. In fact, George Quimby has succeeded to a remarkable extent in doing what he set out to do — to write a book for both the anthropologist and the layman.

SARAH ANNE ROBINSON
Illinois State Museum

MARQUETTE LEGENDS

By Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. (Pageant Press, Inc.: New York, 1960. Pp. 350. \$5.00.)

The Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, for many years a member of the faculty of Quincy College, here presents a lively account of his explorations of the documentary sources of the career of the Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette.

His interest in the subject goes back to 1923, when, during the two-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the expedition of 1673, he was asked to do an article for the *Western Catholic*, then published at Quincy. His findings were un-

expected, and for several years he continued his researches as a graduate student at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. In his dissertation, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673*, published in 1927, he demonstrated that Marquette was not the author of the journal of the expedition ascribed to him, one version of which was published by M. Thevenot in *Recueil de Voyages* (Paris, 1681), the narrative being instead the work of Father Claude Davlon, chief of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada. This possibility had already been suggested by the historian Justin Winsor, noted Father Steck. Later, other Marquette scholars, including the eminent Jesuit historian the Rev. Jean Delanglez, agreed with this conclusion.

Father Steck followed his dissertation with numerous essays on Marquette; some of his conclusions were debated by Father Delanglez and others in articles in

Mid-America and elsewhere. In 1953 the Steck essays were issued in two volumes (*Essays Relating to the Jolliet Expedition, 1673*, privately printed and distributed) with an additional booklet of facsimile reproductions. This present volume, *Marquette Legends*, is a distillation of the collected essays. References to the controversies have been removed to the ample notes, 689 in all, at the end of the book; these should not be overlooked by the reader. There are also a full bibliography and twenty pages of facsimile reproductions.

Father Steck made a valuable contribution to Marquette studies in his analysis of the journal of the expedition of 1673. If many of his other conclusions are debatable, the reader has the material to judge for himself. Excerpts from documents and tables of comparison are voluminous.

MARGUERITE J. PEASE
Illinois Historical Survey

THE TRUMPET SOUNDETH: WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN AND HIS DEMOCRACY, 1896-1912

By Paul W. Glad. (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1960. Pp. xii, 242. \$4.75.)

Through much of his political career William Jennings Bryan was cast in the role of leader of the opposition, but he was rarely content to rest the case for his party on a purely negative program. In the years between 1896 and 1912, as the leader of the

defeated Democrats, Bryan sponsored many ambitious projects for economic and political reform, including a graduated income tax, a system for insuring bank depositors against loss, the arbitration of labor disputes, and popular election of senators. His for-

eign policy program included a strongly positive proposal for the arbitration of international disputes. Though Bryan was the losing candidate in three presidential campaigns, he did live to see and boast of the achievement of a large number of reforms which he sponsored. In an interpretive study of Bryan and his times, titled *The Trumpet Soundeth*, Paul W. Glad describes some of the major forces which contributed to the making of Bryan and assesses the impact Bryan had upon public affairs in those years before 1913 when he was leader of the opposition.

In his analysis of the forces which shaped Bryan, Professor Glad pays but slight attention to Bryan's early political activities or to the structure and temper of politics in the Middle West during Bryan's youth. His emphasis rather is upon the patterns of culture in Bryan's Middle West as they were shaped by such factors as late nineteenth-century Protestantism, McGuffey's Reader and the Chautauqua movement. He concludes that Bryan's intellectual orientation was primarily ethical and emotional. It was an orientation that imbued Bryan with a strong sense of the necessity to fight evil while retaining a healthy optimism about the nation and its future. Bryan's faith, says Dr. Glad, "was flexible, not orthodox; emotional, not rational; moralistic, not dogmatic; optimistic, not

hopeless; patriotic, not sectarian."

Professor Glad, writing of Bryan's career in national politics in 1896 and after, sees him as a crusader for moral causes and a fighter against the forces of evil. Thus the campaign for free silver in 1896 was to Bryan both a crusade for social justice and a battle against the selfish greed of Wall Street and its allies. Sixteen years later at the Democratic Convention of 1912 Bryan could support both Champ Clark and Woodrow Wilson as reformers, but he was satisfied only when he had made rejection of Wall Street influence a measure of party loyalty for both men.

What were the results of Bryan's leadership of the Democratic Party between 1896 and 1912? As Professor Glad sees it, Bryan had succeeded in imposing his ideals and his program upon the Democratic Party only to find the Republican Party, under the leadership of Roosevelt, adopting a similar stand. Thus, by 1912 there was slight difference between the two major parties, and Bryan had not succeeded in altering seriously the structure of politics. Nevertheless, Dr. Glad concludes that the standards of political life had been improved, in part because Bryan had succeeded in imposing upon the pattern of twentieth-century politics those nineteenth-century values which he had learned to cherish in the Middle West of his youth.

Professor Glad has made extensive use of manuscript collections in the Middle West and in the East, but he has not used Southern materials, which would provide an insight into Bryan's leadership of the Democratic Party in that section of the country. There is, in fact, virtually no reference to the South or Bryan's reactions to its problems in Dr. Glad's book. This is most likely due to the fact that

The Trumpet Soundeth is not primarily a discussion of politics but is rather a contribution to the understanding of Bryan's mentality and the part which it played in shaping the policies of the Democratic Party at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is, as such, a book which students of this period will find of value.

STANLEY L. JONES

*Chicago Undergraduate Division
University of Illinois*

SEED, SOIL AND SCIENCE: THE STORY OF

EUGENE D. FUNK

By Helen M. Cavanagh. (The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company: Chicago, 1959. Pp. xii, 544. \$7.50.)

In any roll call of those who have made significant contributions to the agricultural life of this state and nation, no entry appears any more frequently or figures any more prominently than does the name of Funk. Dr. Helen M. Cavanagh, of Illinois State Normal University, who put us in her debt some years ago with her sympathetic biography of Isaac Funk, Illinois pioneer (*Funk of Funk's Grove, Farmer, Legislator, and Cattle King of the Old Northwest, 1797-1865*), has continued her study of that family's relationship to the farming habits of the Midwest. Here the focus is upon Eugene Duncan Funk (1867-1944), a grandson of Isaac. However, the camera's range is broad enough to include much insight into the recurring prob-

lems and the changing character of corn belt agriculture.

Seed, Soil and Science is more than the story of an individual — wise and enterprising though he may have been. It is indeed the account of how a sizable family endowed with a rich heritage of land and intelligence reacted to the numerous challenges which have confronted farming periodically since the Civil War. It is difficult to adequately describe this volume since it does not lend itself to easy categorization. In addition to providing a largely chronological and often highly personal narrative of the Funk family and its varied activities (in which Eugene D. Funk, Sr., is always the central figure) it gives a detailed business history of the well-known Funk Brothers

Seed Company. Thus one often finds himself involved with the fascinating but occasionally highly technical record of the development of hybrid corn, which has done so much to solve the food problem in critical areas of the world while decorating the American landscape with government storage bins in the process.

Fundamental to this story is the full awareness and close association of the Funks with the developing branches of agricultural science. The frequent sharing of ideas and experimental data between them and professors and research workers at the University of Illinois (and neighboring state universities) and their constant co-operation with agricultural experiment stations and the U.S. Department of Agriculture is a recurring theme which runs throughout the book. Reaching an early peak during the "Progressive" years, these well-documented examples of "co-operation" between private enterprise and government agencies provide historians with the kind of evidence that helps to convert hypotheses into generalizations!

Incidental to the above, but also valuable to the historian, are such accounts as the decline of beef cattle feeding in the corn belt, the rise of the soybean industry and the life cycle of several less well known agricultural societies. Of particular interest to student and layman alike is the new light which this study casts upon such familiar themes in recent agricultural history as the reaction of a basically prosperous segment of American farmers to the agricultural depression of the 1920's and 30's, to the New Deal farm programs and, particularly, to the adjustments made necessary by two world wars.

It is pleasant to be able to record that the book under review is neatly and substantially constructed, with numerous illustrations, maps and charts adding to the general interest. The voluminous documentation is gathered at the back of the book, assembled by chapters, along with five appendices, a bibliography and an adequate index. Slips of pen and type are few and far between.

ROBERT M. SUTTON
University of Illinois

THE COPPERHEADS IN THE MIDDLE WEST

By Frank L. Klement. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1960. Pp. xiii, 341. \$7.50.)

My desk dictionary says that a Copperhead was "a person in the Northern States who sympathized with the South during the Civil War." I felt it necessary to look

up the word, because nowhere in this book does the author define it, although it is clear, after a few pages, that it was a term applied by many Republicans to all those,

principally Democrats, who opposed them and their policies. But Democrats were of many different kinds; few of them were genuinely disloyal or traitorous, although the Republicans, for partisan purposes, lumped them together.

Working almost wholly from newspapers and other contemporary published sources, and from personal and state papers of both Democrats and Republicans, the author, who is professor of history at Marquette University, examines the aims and methods of the contending forces. Those who were called Copperheads disagreed to a greater or lesser extent with the policies of the Lincoln administration, not only about using force against the seceded states but because the administration stood for industry as against agriculture, and for centralized banking, protective tariff and other things traditionally opposed by the Democratic Party. In the eyes of the more radical Copperheads, the Republican Party stood for nativism, abolitionism and the sacrifice of states' rights for liberty-stifling federalism. War or no war, Democratic leaders could see no reason why they should not discredit the Republican Party, and so weaken its ability to carry out its program.

On the other hand, as the author points out, the Republicans did their best to show that all those who were not with them were against the Union, and they

sought to suppress all criticism by charges of treason, imposition of military rule and exposés of the supposed connection of Democrats with the shadowy Knights of the Golden Circle and other organizations supposedly sympathetic to the South. Professor Klement recounts the successes and failures of both the Copperheads and the Union men, and I come to the conclusion from my reading of the book that the violent partisanship of both groups did great disservice to the United States — the Copperheads because they did not see that the large issue of the war was the preservation of the Union, and the Republicans because they failed to uphold the foundations of democracy: free speech and the rule of law.

In his concluding chapter the author shows how, in the years after the war, the Republicans continued to smear the Democrats as traitors by "waving the bloody shirt," although with less and less effect as time went on, and how, as the war faded into the past, the former Copperheads became respected political and economic leaders.

In this brief review I cannot give an adequate summary of Professor Klement's book, but I assure the reader that here he will find at satisfying length and in meticulous detail the whole sorry story.

WALTER B. HENDRICKSON
MacMurray College

GEORGE CATLIN AND THE OLD FRONTIER

By Harold McCracken. (Dial Press: New York, 1959. Pp. 216; 131 black and white and 36 color illustrations. \$18.50.)

George Catlin was, as McCracken says, "the first artist of stature to travel our western plains for the purpose of making a documentary record of the primitive Indian tribes." As such, his paintings have historic significance, if not artistic merit — and many authorities see Catlin as an artist of real ability. Catlin traveled to the upper Mississippi and later up the Missouri to northeast Kansas in 1830; up the Platte to Fort Laramie, presumably in 1831; his major trip to the wild frontier was in 1832 in the *Yellowstone*, up the Missouri to Fort Union. On this trip the Plains Indians — the Teton Sioux, the Mandan, the Assiniboin, the Blackfeet and the Crow — were recorded on Catlin's canvas, recorded at a time when very little indeed was known about the wild tribes of the far west.

We in Illinois are indebted to Catlin for portraits of Keokuk ("on horseback" in color on page 19, and also in color, "The Run-

ning Fox," on page 20), White Cloud (color, page 164), the Shawnee Prophet (black and white, page 33), Black Hawk (color, page 164; black and white, pages 119, 125), wife of Keokuk (black and white, page 161) and the Bear's Track (black and white, page 172).

This is a long overdue book, especially so in a period when much attention is being paid to our early western artists — for example, see Leslie A. White, editor, *Lewis Henry Morgan: The Indian Journals, 1859-62* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1959, \$17.50; 16 color plates and 105 black and white illustrations). McCracken's volume is also a lavishly illustrated book, with particularly good color plates. An index, references and notes, and a Catlin bibliographical check list help to make *George Catlin and the Old Frontier* not only an important but an enjoyable addition to our knowledge of the American Indians.

C.C.W.

CONFEDERATE CHAPLAIN: A WAR JOURNAL OF REV. JAMES B. SHEERAN, C.S.S.R., 14TH LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

Edited by the Rev. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (The Bruce Publishing Company: Milwaukee, Wis., 1960. Pp. 168. \$3.50.)

Father Sheeran was an Irish-born Redemptorist priest stationed in New Orleans who volunteered as a chaplain and served with the

Fourteenth Louisiana Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia, from September, 1861, until his capture by General Sheridan's forces

at Winchester in October, 1864.

As the title states, this book is Father Sheeran's personal account of his Civil War experiences.

Father Durkin states in his foreword that the value of this journal is two-fold — the "unique and admirable character" of the man and "some genre pictures of military life."

This reviewer would like to add two more recommendations — the journal shows a chaplain devoutly carrying out his daily tasks and presents personal word pictures of the great and near great military leaders of the South. The reviewer was intrigued by the character of Father Sheeran. How could a man born in Ireland, reared and trained for the priesthood in Michigan and a resident of New Orleans for only three years, become such an ardent southerner that he admonished a wounded Union officer (after Cedar Mountain), "My very good man, before going to bed every night try and recall to your memory the number of times Abe Lincoln has perjured himself by violating the Constitution since his introduction into office"? Perhaps the best explanation is that Father Sheeran was, after all, an Irishman!

The journal contains many interesting descriptions of the daily life of the Confederate soldier. There are the natural complaints of a chaplain against drink and *s*ambling, against officers' abuse

of privileges and poor church attendance. The good father rarely missed the opportunity to comment on the large number of Protestants who attended Mass! The reviewer, a defender of McClellan, appreciated the description of the tattered and shoeless condition of the Army of the Potomac prisoners taken during the Antietam campaign which bears out McClellan's contention that he failed to pursue Lee after the battle because of the poor condition of his army.

Father Sheeran's descriptions of the various battles he witnessed are naturally biased but interesting. He was present at Cedar Mountain, Second Bull Run, missed Antietam but was again there at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. In 1864 he described the action at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania and accompanied Early on his raid on Washington. He was captured and imprisoned after the Battle of Winchester when he attempted to ride through the lines to attend the Confederate wounded. Father Sheeran met and knew, in varying degrees of familiarity, Ewell, Early, Jackson and Lee. The latter, Father Sheeran happily noted, made a point of personally greeting the chaplain whenever he saw him. The priest also met and described, in a none too flattering manner, Philip Sheridan.

The journal is most interesting

and is definitely a unique addition to Civil War literature. Father Durkin is to be congratulated

on a good scholarly job of editing.

LAVERN M. HAMAND
Eastern Illinois University

SEEDTIME IN THE CUMBERLAND

By Harriette Simpson Arnow. (Macmillan: New York, 1960. Pp. 449. \$7.50.)

Mrs. Arnow presents a colorful, imaginative, detailed and well-documented history of the early settlement of the Cumberland River Valley. Beginning with a consideration of topography and soils, she then sketches what little is known of early man in the area. From there the story progresses through Indian conflicts over the hunting grounds of the Cumberland to the wanderings of traders and explorers to 1750. Students of pre-Revolutionary Illinois history will be especially interested in Chapter 6, where the author tells in great detail about the Illinois-based trading and hunting expeditions into the Cumberland, first by the French and then in the late 1760's by the English. With the peregrinations of the hunters of the 1760's fully described and their ways of life vividly detailed, the author next analyzes the rising conflict between Indians and settlers in the Kentucky-Tennessee area in the early 1770's.

The second half of the volume depicts the process of settlement in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The reader learns of the origins of the Cum-

berland settlers, their modes of travel, their clothing, their homes, their government, their food, their furniture, their problems in developing farms, their battles with the Indians, their struggles to secure title to their farms, their hardships, successes and failures. Here in this rich description of the daily living of the Cumberland settlers, Mrs. Arnow makes a real contribution to our understanding of pioneer America.

Although this work is primarily a descriptive social history, the author's analysis of materials led her to conclusions of value to the cultural and intellectual historian. She concludes: "The first settlers on the Cumberland, like first settlers elsewhere, invented nothing and most certainly not democracy. They pioneered no new system of government or religion or agriculture. Rather the successful pioneer was a master hand at adapting old learnings to a new environment . . ." (page 426).

As for the pioneer mind, Mrs. Arnow says, "I found no mind I could hold up and call 'the pioneer mind,' and no man I could call 'the pioneer'" (page 427). She feels that "there can never be a

complete and perfect seeing. We cannot see him as he saw himself; this is not a mere matter of time or change in physical environment. Our eyes, looking at him across the years, must study him through a maze of modern con-

cepts . . . thick about us as Cumberland River fog" (page 427).

All readers interested in frontier America will find this volume enjoyable, informative and very well written.

MARGARET BEATTIE BOGUE
Iowa City, Iowa

THE BEGINNINGS: CHAMPAIGN IN THE 1850'S AND 1860'S

By Natalia M. Belting. (Graphic Press: Champaign, Ill., 1960.
Pp. 41. \$.50.)

This thin booklet is packed with data relative to the centennial of the incorporation of Champaign as a city.

Champaign was a mere "depot" on the wide-open prairie of Champaign County, Illinois, when the Illinois Central Railroad was completed — the first train arrived on July 24, 1854.

The new settlement near the railroad was at first called simply "Depot" or "The Depot," although it later became known as West Urbana. At length, on April 20, 1860, residents of the new town voted to adopt the name Champaign in preference to West Urbana.

Urbana — Champaign's twin city and long the county seat — had been platted June 21, 1833, following the separation of Champaign County from Vermilion County by the Illinois legislature on February 20, 1833. The Illi-

nois Central "missed" the older town by only about two miles. We are told in this volume that "the inhabitants of Urbana . . . were indignant" when they learned that the new road would bypass their town, and their indignation proved to be justified, for before their very eyes a new town grew up, to become a competitor in every respect, and a competitor with a railroad. Urbana was not to get a railroad until 1863 or a real east-west line until 1870.

In the preparation of this volume, Miss Belting, a member of the centennial historical committee, relied substantially on the last two chapters of her Master of Arts thesis, "Early History of Urbana and Champaign" (University of Illinois, 1937), although new material was also furnished by the other members of the historical committee.

C. C. BURFORD
Urbana

News and Comment

Rockford Host to Sixty-first Annual Meeting

Three nationally known speakers, Swedish-American hospitality and perfect weather constituted the multifaceted highlights of the sixty-first annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, held in Rockford on October 7-9.

The speakers were MacKinlay Kantor, Irving Dilliard and Arthur Bestor; the hospitality provided more seeing and eating than could be digested; and the weather was pleasant, with cloudless autumn skies and the temperature in the seventies. Events of the two days were scheduled by a local arrangements committee (headed by Herman G. Nelson) into a well-timed program that suffered only occasional slight delays.

Five new directors were elected at the business session Saturday afternoon, and the following morning the Board elected Glenn H. Seymour, head of the department of social science at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, as president for 1960-1961. He had served as senior vice-president during the previous year. Elected to the latter position for the coming year was Mrs. Doris P. Leonard of Princeton — the first woman to be so honored. For the past three years she has been a director of the Society.

The new directors for the 1960-1963 term are O. Fritiof Ander, Rock Island; Eleanor Bussell, Lacon; Sibley B. Gaddis, Mt. Sterling; Mrs. Paul Hatfield, Harrisburg; and Ebers Schweizer, Chester.

The list of vice-presidents was expanded to twelve for the coming year. They are H. A. Berens, Elmhurst; Burton C. Bernard, Granite City; Robert G. Bone, Normal; Mollie Duffy, Dixon; Mrs. John S. Gilster, Chester; Mrs. William Henry, Jr., Cambridge; Victor Hicken, Macomb; King V. Hostick, Springfield; Frank J. Kinst, Berwyn; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; and Gilbert G. Twiss, Chicago. Clyde C. Walton was re-elected executive director.

The single scheduled event on Friday afternoon was the official opening of the exhibit "Illinois in the Civil War" in the Robert R. McCormick Historymobile which took place in front of the Hotel Faust at 2:30 P.M., when Mayor Benjamin T. Schleicher welcomed the Society to Rockford. The Civil War exhibit had been installed earlier in the week to replace the "Declaration of Independence and the Men Who Signed It" display, which inau-

gured the Historymobile at the Illinois State Fair in Springfield on August 15. The Historical Society was represented at the opening by President Ralph G. Newman and Executive Director Clyde C. Walton.

On Friday evening the president of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, David W. Johnson, and Mrs. Johnson held a reception in their new home on the northeast side of the city for the officers and directors of the State Society.

At breakfast Saturday 125 members of the State Society were the guests of Philip N. Peterson, president of the First National Bank and Trust Company, in the Levin Faust Room of the hotel. Following the bacon and scrambled eggs, Attorney William H. Barrick presented a brief history of the early years of Winnebago County, beginning with the first settler, Stephen Mack (about 1829), and including "Count" Ludwik Chlopicki and his proposed colony of Polish refugees; Rockford's founders, Germanicus Kent and Thatcher Blake; the nine people killed when the courthouse dome fell; the Swedish immigrants who were tagged "Kishwaukee Street, U.S.A."; and A. G. Spalding's famous baseball teams.

Four buses of the Peoria-Rockford Bus Company with 135 Historical Society tourists left the Hotel Faust at 10:10 A.M. and

went across the Rock River, past the courthouse to make their first stop at the Tinker Swiss Cottage. This twenty-room house, on a limestone bluff fifty feet above Kent Creek, was built about 1865 by Robert H. Tinker from plans for a Swiss chalet which he had drawn on one of his European tours. Many of the furnishings were also collected during his tours of Europe and Asia.

The house was left to the people of Rockford and is now administered as a museum by the Tinker Swiss Cottage Association, Inc. Among its unusual architectural features is the two-story hexagonal library patterned after one in the home of Sir Walter Scott in Abbotsford, Scotland. In one corner of that room is a wooden spiral stairway leading up to the balcony. Other examples of the builder's inventiveness are the root cellar hewn out of the limestone bluff half a story below the basement level, a hinged door within a larger sliding door, and numerous murals and other decorative painting.

Antique collectors in the group were interested in the glass and chinaware from England, France, Germany, Bohemia, Austria and China, and in a workable "blanket pull" on a spool bed.

After nearly an hour at the cottage the tour was resumed with an eighteen-mile ride to the 119-acre Macktown Forest Preserve near Rockton, where a stop was



Historical Society members stop at the Stephen Mack House during their tour of the Rockton area.

made at the Stephen Mack House, now the museum of the Rockton Historical Society. This two-story, stone-founded house was built by Vermonter Mack in 1839, and in later years several lean-to wings were added. Its single architectural distinction is the Greek Revival pediment at the front gable; it is said to have been one of the first houses west of Chicago to have been painted, and now it could use another coat. The furnishings of the house included a quantity of ironstone china, coin silverware, farm tools, a bear trap, a shallow circular tin bathing tub and a surplus supply of old sewing machines.

A brief stop was then made at the Old Stone Church in Rockton, which was built in 1850. This church is one of a number of cen-

tury-old stone buildings in Rockton and was chosen as one of the representative Illinois structures for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

Following luncheon in the main dining rooms of the Wagon Wheel Lodge the group adjourned to the resort's Pig Alle Music Hall for a session which included the annual business meeting of the Society. The speaker of the afternoon, Irving Dilliard, a past president of the State Society, was introduced by Dr. Mildred F. Berry, professor of speech and American literature at Rockford College and chairman of the College's Jane Addams Centennial Committee.

Speaking on the subject "Jane Addams' Place in Illinois History," Dilliard showed how the

subject "blazed her own trail" to make Illinois a leader among the states in labor laws and juvenile protection. He quoted from a number of obituary notices he had collected at the time of Miss Addams' death in 1935 and concluded by saying that "the goals, aims and purposes of American life today" are the same as those expressed by Jane Addams fifty years ago.

President Newman presided at the business meeting and read a report from Carl G. Hodges, chairman of the publicity committee. Chairman of the nominating committee, Alexander Summers, then presented the slate of five directors, which was approved, and Executive Director Walton made his annual report. The latter emphasized that the organization's operations for the year had resulted in a deficit of several hundred dollars owing to the unexpectedly large increase in the circulation of *Illinois History* magazine, part of the cost of which was borne by the Society.

When the tour returned to Rockford, two of the buses stopped first at the Erlander Home, which is maintained as a museum by the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, and the other two went on to Rockford College; later the two groups were interchanged.

At the Erlander Home the visitors were served Swedish cookies and coffee by five women members of the Rockford Society

dressed in Swedish costumes. The Home itself is a typical prosperous Swedish-American immigrant residence. In addition to its turn-of-the-century furnishings the museum has a number of unusual exhibits that have been added — but not enough to make for a cluttered appearance. One of these was a John Nelson sock-knitting machine (the cornerstone of one of Rockford's early large industries). Another was a collection of three dozen differently shaped wooden planes used in furniture making, also an early Rockford industry. An interesting curio was a giant-size wood-burning glazed porcelain room heater (*kakelugn*) from Sweden.

On the living room wall of the Home is a bronze dedicatory plaque, the center section of which measures about two by three feet and contains an enlarged version of Carl Sandburg's handwritten tribute for the dedication. This inscription reads: "They shared in the making of America. From the wilderness days through storms of war and years of peace, their toils, endurance, valor, their struggles and devotions, are woven as a dark scarlet thread in the sacred American Story and Dream. Their names and works are Worth Remembrance. Carl Sandburg."

At Rockford College the visitors were received by young women in dresses of the period when Jane Addams was a student and

were shown an Addams exhibit in the John Hall Sherratt Library. This included a number of letters from Miss Addams to Miss Sarah F. Anderson, president of Rockford College from 1890 to 1896. The group also saw the room on the second floor of Middle Hall, oldest building on the campus, that was occupied by Jane Addams as a student. The room, which is the only one in the building that still has a fireplace, is now reserved for the senior Jane Addams Scholar, the current tenant being Miss Judy Meyer of Red Wing, Minnesota.

Presiding at the annual banquet Saturday evening in the Junior Ballroom on the top floor of the Hotel Faust was President Newman, with 205 members and guests in attendance. Preceding the speaking program a concert of Negro spirituals was presented by "The Gentlemen of Harmony," a group of twelve singers under the direction of Troy P. Gorum. Among their half-dozen songs were such favorites as "Deep River," "Balm in Gilead," "Roll, Jordan, Roll," and the "Lord's Prayer."

Following their brief concert Richard S. Hagen, acting chairman of the State Society's awards committee, announced the citations for the year. "Awards of Merit" were voted for Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, and for the Robert R. McCormick Charitable Trust. "Distinguished Service"

awards went to William H. Barrick, Dr. Mildred F. Berry, Paul S. Conklin, David W. Johnson and Philip N. Peterson of Rockford; Dr. Arthur Bestor and C. C. Burford of Champaign; Herbert Coddington and Mr. and Mrs. Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., of Moline; Irving Dilliard of Collinsville; Carl Haverlin of New York City; MacKinlay Kantor of Sarasota, Florida; Florence Liebke and Bestor Witter of Rock Island; and Frank Truman of Rockton.

MacKinlay Kantor, in his talk titled "The Historical Sins of Historical Novelists," told his listeners that "the term 'historical novel' . . . should be applied only to those works wherein a deliberate attempt has been made to recreate the past." He then traced the development of the modern historical novel and in its behalf said that "if people are not taught to recoil from falsehood, they will never be able to award honesty the warm welcome which it deserves. . . . The historical novelist himself must be the historical expert, the technical director which every Hollywood producer advertises that he has engaged." Finally, he advised the would-be historical novelist to "go and live in that other time, before you would tell of it."

Following Kantor's talk the group adjourned to a second floor parlor of the hotel for an hour of conversation, coffee and cookies.

The Sunday afternoon session

Whitman Trading Post, built in 1846, is the oldest commercial structure in the Rockton area.



was held in the small Stuga (cottage) auditorium of the Sweden House Restaurant at the eastern edge of Rockford, where the nearly one hundred remaining members earlier had enjoyed a smorgasbord dinner. The speaker, Dr. Arthur Bestor, professor of history at the University of Illinois and a past president of the State Society, discussed "The Constitutional Issues of 1860." While no one particular factor could be cited as causing the Civil War, he said, the issues he mentioned seemed to be due more to the omissions than to the provisions of the constitution, ordinances and laws; for example, no amendments or laws on slavery were even proposed in the period from 1839 to 1863.

ANNUAL MEETING NOTES: Charles Weishaupt, curator of the Robert R. McCormick Historymobile, donned his Union general's uniform for the first time for the opening of the Civil War exhibit Friday afternoon.

Although the lack of time precluded a stop at the Whitman Trading Post in the Macktown Forest Preserve, the bus tour group did get a chance to see this old stone building both in going to and returning from the Stephen Mack House.

Several members who had planned to go to Freeport on Sunday morning to see the new farm museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society failed to make the trip on account of the heavy fog. The fog lifted by 10:30 A.M. in ample time for the smorgasbord dinner. Incidentally, the annual meeting was over by 3 P.M. Sunday.

An innovation for Historical Society events was the fashion show presented by models for the Wagon Wheel shop during the group's Saturday lunch there.

The bus trip to Rockton was made on Illinois Highway 2 and the return to Rockford was over U. S. Route 51. The tour totaled about forty-five miles.

Costumed hostesses at the Er-

lander Home Museum were Mrs. David W. Johnson, Mrs. Carl Severin, Mrs. Adolph Miller, Mrs. John Nelson and Mrs. Gus Sjoblom.

In the moment of silence that followed the invocation given at the Saturday breakfast by the Rev. Joseph C. Cleveland of Rockford Second Congregational Church, the crowd was slightly startled to hear Member Phil Shutt of Cambridge say, "He was entirely out of his element." Phil hastened to the speaker's table with this explanation for the pastor: When the invocation began, he had been telling the guests at his

table about a high-school history text that had been written by a professor of English. He stopped talking then, but when the invocation ended he resumed his discourse with a final comment — which everybody heard.

The committee which decided on the Society's 1960 awards consisted of John W. Allen, chairman, and George W. Adams, both of Carbondale; Robert G. Bone, Normal; Richard S. Hagen, Galena; Oliver J. Keller, Springfield; Wasson W. Lawrence, Fairfield; Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, Princeton; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; and Mrs. Willard J. Spurgeon, Sparta.

Students and Their Historymobile Lesson

Ever since it was opened in August the State Historical Society's Robert R. McCormick Historymobile has been a favorite target for both amateur and professional photographers. They take pictures of the outside and inside and even of the individual exhibits. Most of them are satisfied to get only what they can see, but a few attempt to interpret the meaning or purpose of the Historymobile — which is, of course, to interest all the citizens, particularly the younger set, in the history of Illinois. The picture on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is the best, so far, of the latter type. The expressions of interest on the children's faces,

as Curator Charles V. Weishaupt gives his brief talk, are what these photographers are constantly striving to catch.

This picture was made by a photographer for the *Sterling Gazette* when the Historymobile visited his town early in September. At that time the exhibit was one titled "The Declaration of Independence and Its Signers" and featured autographed materials by all fifty-six signers. The display was changed to one on "Illinois in the Civil War" for the annual meeting of the Historical Society in Rockford on October 7-9.

During the first three months the Historymobile was open, more

than 43,000 visitors viewed its exhibits. In that time it made stops in the following cities and towns: Springfield, Chicago, Skokie, Kan-

kakee, Sterling, Fairfield, Bloomington, Lincoln, Berwyn, Joliet and Rockford; also Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Iowa City, Iowa.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

"School Days" provided the theme for the Alton Area Historical Society's first meeting of the 1960-1961 season held on September 11. Featured was a "School Days" exhibit of historical miniatures shown by the McKinley School sixth-grade pupils of Mrs. William Burt. A tea and reception followed the program at Haskell House.

Mrs. Horace J. Ash is program chairman and Mrs. Maitland Timmermiere is president of the Alton Society.

The Aurora Historical Society's museum and carriage house exhibit had more visitors this summer than ever before in their history, Mrs. Alice Applegate, curator, reports. The carriage house, converted into a transportation museum and opened three years ago, has added several new displays, one of the most interesting of which is a blacksmith shop constructed by Vernon Derry. Also attracting attention are three life-sized papier-mâché horses once used to model harness and saddles in Aurora harness shops. Another recent acquisition, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Engwald, is a 200-year-old, elaborately carved pair

of hames — the wood pieces that fit around a horse collar and fasten to the traces.

Exhibits in the museum proper — the old Tanner home — occupy three floors of the hundred-year-old brick mansion at Oak Avenue and Cedar Street.

One of Batavia's historic homes — the residence of Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Wynn — was the setting for the Batavia Historical Society's "evening of reminiscences," Friday, July 15. Society members gathered in the Wynns' yard, where an informal discussion of the city's old homes and landmarks was presided over by John Gustafson.

The Boone County Historical Society devoted its September 6 meeting to the problem of housing the Society's growing collection of historic memorabilia. President John Tripp, who was host to the meeting at his home in Belvidere, outlined a public relations campaign for the organization and discussed the possibility of erecting a Society building.

More than seventeen hundred visitors were registered at the mu-

seum of the Bureau County Historical Society, in Princeton, during the year ending in June, 1960. Museum acquisitions and attendance figures were reported by the Society's museum committee at the annual meeting on June 10. The membership committee reported that the organization now has 294 annual members and 103 life members.

The formal meeting was concluded with the re-election of all incumbent officers. They are Frank Grisell, president; Mrs. E. L. Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. Clifford Leonard, secretary; and Duncan L. Bryant, treasurer. The following directors were named to three-year terms: Mrs. Perry D. Trimble, Rollo T. Hensel, Roger Eickmeier, Mrs. C. G. Heck, Judge W. W. Wimbiscus and Carl Kramer.

The Cairo Historical Association met in June at Magnolia Manor — the organization's headquarters — to elect officers for 1960-1961. The Association operates under a unique system which provides for three executive officers in addition to the standard roster of one or more vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer. These executive officers serve alternately as president during the year.

The new executive officers are Mrs. Fay S. Comer, Mrs. Walter Gates and Mrs. Edward Salmon. Other officers include Mrs. Ray

Keller, first vice-president; Mrs. Jesse Spiceland, second vice-president; Clayton Boone and Earl Jewell, third vice-presidents; Mrs. James Darrow, secretary; and Mrs. Leslie Roche, treasurer.

On September 10 the Association stocked and staffed a one-day delicatessen; Mrs. Salmon was in charge.

Six college students — four from overseas and two from the United States — were entertained by the Edwards County Historical Society at Albion early this fall. The students toured the Society's museum and heard Mrs. Virginia Skinner discuss George Flower's settlement in Edwards County and the communal society at New Harmony, Indiana.

The romantic life of Edgar Thompson, an Albion man who married a Fiji Island princess after roaming the South Pacific for many years, was the subject of another recent Society meeting. Mrs. Sarah Wheeler told the story of Thompson and his family; Edgar's father, Samuel, she said, was an Albion physician, and his brother Ralph was a founder and editor of the *Albion Pioneer* (now the *Journal-Register*) from 1868 to about 1873.

An efficient, highly organized corps of volunteers is at work in Evanston, engaged in reorganizing the library of the Evanston Historical Society. The committee is

headed by Miss Margaret E. Nicholsen, Evanston High School librarian, who is being assisted by Mrs. John Mock, a library staff member at Northwestern University. Under the direction of Miss Nicholsen and Mrs. Mock, the volunteers are at work cataloging and repairing the Society's book collection. Other library projects include the indexing of local histories and Evanston newspapers, bringing the library's clipping file up to date and collecting additional source materials on Evanston history.

Plans for the antique sale of the Galena Historical Society were formulated at the Society's June meeting. Last year's sale brought the Society some \$800, and an equally successful event was anticipated this year. Two new officers — George Vitore, vice-president, and Miss Irene Larey, secretary — were named at the June meeting.

In addition to conducting the antique sale on October 1, Society members were active in the annual tour of Galena homes, September 24-25, and in the city's old-fashioned country fair, held on seven week ends, beginning August 13 and ending October 9. The Society has also taken the lead in planning for the city's observances of the Civil War Centennial.

The Carrollton Gazette-Patriot

reports to its readers that any "who have been expecting a message any day" that the Greene County Historical Society "had breathed its last will be surprised to learn that at least seven of its nine lives are still functioning."

New officers elected at the June meeting are William Battershell, Roodhouse, president; L. T. Whiteside, Eldred, vice-president; Mrs. Thomas Segraves, Carrollton, treasurer; Mrs. Peter J. Ach-enbach, Carrollton, corresponding secretary; and the following township and city publicity chairmen: Carl Wright, Rockbridge; Mr. and Mrs. James Ford, Greenfield; George Livingstone, White Hall; Dean Morrow, Athensville; Mrs. Robert Dougherty, Kane; Mr. and Mrs. Orville Stout, Woodville; William Hobson, Eldred; Mrs. Bob Hubbard, Walkerville; Paul Daum, Linder; Perry Sherwin, Hillview; Finice Doyle, Wrights; and Eben Hunt, Roodhouse.

The Society meets in the historical museum in the Geers Building on the square in Carrollton.

The newly formed Historical Society of Hartford is now custodian of a city playground park named for Clint Walker, a native of Hartford and star of the television series "Cheyenne." Walker dedicated the park on June 12 at ceremonies with a frontier atmosphere. The day's events featured an old-

fashioned parade, and many of the guests wore costumes of the "Wild West."

The Society's historical sites committee, headed by Elmer Hart, is responsible for the beautification and upkeep of the park. He was named to the post by President R. E. George at the Society's June meeting. Other committee chairmen are Mrs. John Stosky, library; Mrs. John O'Fallon, publicity; Mrs. William Walston, program; and Mrs. Amil Wilcox, membership.

Donald F. Lewis, past president of the Madison County Historical Society, opened the 1960-1961 season of the Land of Goshen Historical Society on September 4 with a talk on the life of Edward Coles, second governor of Illinois. Lewis is a recent recipient of a Ford Foundation grant which enabled him to do research on the Governor's life. Prior to his work, very little information was available about Coles after he left Illinois in 1833 for Philadelphia. Lewis sketched the major developments of Coles's administration as governor but devoted the principal part of his talk to his subject's later life. In his research, Lewis pointed out, he made use of an extensive collection of Coles manuscripts now held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Louise Ahrens, president of the Society, conducted the brief business meeting, and the follow-

ing members were in charge of the social hour: Miss Dorothy Metcalfe, Mr. and Mrs. Willard Flagg, Mrs. Nellie Graham and Miss Lena Graham.

The La Salle County Historical Society met on July 17 at the home of Kenneth Butler in Mendota. After a business meeting conducted by Miss Jane Mills, Society president, Butler displayed his collection of antique cars and discussed the problems of restoring the automobiles to working order. Mrs. Edgar Cook and Misses Ruth and Jeannette Karger, all of Mendota, served refreshments to the group at the conclusion of the program.

The Lewis and Clark Historical Society met Sunday, June 12, at Wood River, with Miss Ruby Roseberry as principal speaker. Her topic was the early history of the area. Loyal Palmer is president of the Society and Miss Effie Maxey is secretary.

The Marshall County Historical Society enjoyed a graphic reconstruction of the Battle of Gettysburg at its July meeting. The speaker, Marshall County State's Attorney O. B. Pace, Jr., described a section of the upper central Illinois River Valley where the topography closely resembles that of the Gettysburg area. In his visualization the town of Lacon corresponds in position to Gettys-

burg. Comparing the Pennsylvania sites to familiar Illinois landmarks, Pace traced the action at Gettysburg in a manner that vividly recreated the battle.

Mrs. Blake Grieves, vice-president and program chairman, presented the speaker.

Society directors from Evans Township — Roscoe Ball, Hattie Smith, Mina Swanson and Maxine Tomlinson — served as hosts at the July 31 picnic supper meeting in Wenona. President Ray Litchfield presided at the brief business session, and Miss Eleanor Bussell was in charge of the program. She talked on the organizational aspects of the Society and gave the history of its founding.

The Marshall County group did not have a formal meeting in August but participated instead in the Marshall County Old Settlers' Day program, held in Lacon on August 25. Wayne Ehringer was chairman of a window display arranged by Society members for that event.

Members of the Mattoon Historical Society are looking forward to one of the busiest years in that organization's history. Plans are underway for a membership campaign and a program reorganization, both of which went into effect this fall. At a special meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Summers, President Ray Redding was authorized to

appoint a planning committee to report at the Society's annual meeting. Officers for 1961 will be recommended at that time by a nominating committee consisting of Mrs. Earl Robertson, chairman, Mrs. Virgil Dodson and Gerald Dunn.

Fred Moffit talked on the history of Perryton Township at the first meeting of the 1960-1961 season of the Mercer County Historical Society. The meeting was held September 6 at the Essley-Noble Memorial Museum in Aledo.

Historical sketches of two Monroe County areas were presented at the July and August meetings of the new Monroe County Historical Society. The July 20 meeting was held in Maecystown, and Mrs. Gloria Bundy told the story of that section of the county. Nelson A. Schneider talked on Harrisonville Precinct at the Society's August 17 meeting at Valmeyer.

Instructions for an often neglected field of exploration — historical as well as physical — were given to the Nauvoo Historical Society by Mrs. Pearl Gordon Vestal, at the Society's July 19 meeting. Mrs. Vestal's subject was "Old Cemeteries," and she told her listeners where to look for abandoned private cemeteries and explained methods of making

tombstone engravings easier to decipher.

Another speaker, Mrs. Hazel Tedford, told of efforts being made to preserve the old Dundy cemetery near the homestead of one of Hancock County's first settlers, Captain James White.

The third part of the program was presented by Mrs. Carroll Swanson, who described a strange stone object that has aroused much curiosity among people passing the farmhouse of David Baster, south of Golden's Point Christian Church. The large stone slab, which rests in Baster's yard, is hollowed out so that it has a rim around the outside and a gentle slope to the center, where there is an opening. This cumbersome device, Mrs. Swanson explained, was once actually a dish drainer, of the type used in the large communal kitchens of the Nauvoo Icarians.

Ogle County Historical Society members met for a picnic at Lowden Memorial State Park near Oregon on August 29. Mrs. Frances Smith and Mrs. Mary Bergner talked on Lorado Taft's "Black Hawk" statue, which is in the park.

Members of the Perry County Historical Society enjoyed a picnic at the grounds of the DuQuoin State Fair Association on July 11. Society President Albert Teabeau, of DuQuoin, was in charge.

A tour of historic sites in Randolph County took the place of the regular August meeting.

History-minded Pike County citizens, led by a college student home on vacation, were busy throughout the summer laying the groundwork for the organization of a county historical society. The student, Warren Winston, served as chairman of the preliminary activities that culminated in a public meeting in the Pike County Circuit Courtroom on September 9. Attorney Paul Grote presided at that meeting, and State Historian Clyde C. Walton was the principal speaker.

At the September 9 meeting, a nominating committee, consisting of Earl Zimmerman, chairman, Paul Grote, Mrs. Marjorie Williams, Ernest Gay and Mrs. Thelma Jones, was named to select officers for the new organization, and Milo Pearson of Pleasant Hill was named program chairman.

Others active in the organization of the Society include Mrs. Grace Matteson, Mrs. Almarena Grote, Mrs. L. J. Litvan, Marjorie Nighbert, Mrs. Harold Claus, Mrs. Martha Caughlan, Mrs. Claudia Shriver and Mrs. Mary Lowe.

Entertainment and relaxation marked the summer activities of the usually hard-working Randolph County Historical Society.

In June, Society members were served a meal of German delicacies prepared by the women of the Peace Lutheran Church in Steeleville. They also visited a bazaar and were entertained by a German band, which presented a concert in the Steeleville City Park.

The meeting on July 28 combined business with pleasure, when a picnic supper at Fort Kaskaskia State Park initiated a membership campaign that went on through August, "Get a Member Month." Prospective members were guests at the picnic.

On August 27, forty-nine Society members joined an excursion by chartered bus to St. Louis, where they had dinner at the famous "Hitching Post" restaurant and attended a production of "Carmen" aboard the *Goldenrod*, last of the Mississippi River showboats. Ebers R. Schweizer was in charge of arrangements for the St. Louis trip.

The last two outdoor meetings of Saline County Historical Society's summer program were pot luck dinners held on the grounds of the Society's new museum building — once the residence at the county poor farm. At the August dinner, members of the county board of supervisors were guests of the Society. The speaker at that dinner, Attorney Don Scott, thanked the board members for making the museum build-

ing available to the Society and commended them as "participants in this project of preserving the history of this region."

At the September dinner, plans were made for the year's programs and museum projects.

The Stephenson County Historical Society's farm museum — the first in Illinois — was officially opened to the public on Sunday, July 31. The museum grounds and arboretum were stocked with picnic tables and chairs for families and groups who wished to spend the day. Mrs. A. J. Waterhouse headed a committee of 4-H mothers who served free coffee and punch at the open house.

Approximately one thousand visitors attended the opening; they were greeted by Society officers, charter members and museum donors, who served alternately in the reception line.

Although not all of the exhibits are completed, many of them lack only a few minor objects. Particularly engaging were the blacksmith shop, the old-fashioned kitchen, the veterinary office, the carpenter shop, the harness shop and displays devoted to grain culture and harvesting, poultry raising, dairying, lumbering and haying.

A permanent display titled "Jane Addams of Stephenson County, 1860-1935" was opened in the historical museum in Sep-

tember. The display includes photographs, paintings, letters and documents as well as objects used by Miss Addams during her lifetime. Among these are her hobby horse, her trundle bed, a black lace dress, equipment from her father's mill and souvenirs of her years at Rockford College.

In addition to these special events the Stephenson County Society held two traditional summer affairs — an ice cream social in July and a picnic in June. In honor of the Jane Addams centennial, the program that followed the picnic was devoted to Miss Addams. Principal speaker was Dr. Jordan Cavan, of Rockford College. Dr. Cavan, who lived at Hull House for twelve summers, talked on his experiences there and reminisced about Miss Addams' administration of the famed settlement house. Other guests at the picnic included several Cedarville "old settlers," who shared their memories of the years the Addamses lived in that community. Miss Ruth Winn presided at the program, and Donald L. Breed introduced Dr. Cavan. Mrs. Kenneth A. Knowlton, chairman of the Society's Jane Addams committee, introduced the Cedarville guests.

The summer program of the Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society consisted of a series of historical tours. Two busloads of history enthusiasts took part in the

first tour to Prophetstown, Portland and Lyndon; Gunnar Benson and Glen Wheat, Jr., were guides for the tour; they were assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Elflin and Carole Benson. The second tour, to the Rock Island area, included visits to the Rock Island Arsenal, the John M. Browning Museum, the United States and Confederate cemeteries on Rock Island, the George Davenport home and Black Hawk State Park. The first two tours were held on Sunday afternoons, but the third — an all-day affair — was held Saturday, August 20. Principal stops on the route were Nauvoo, Carthage, the Bishop Hill settlement and the Carl Sandburg home in Galesburg.

The Society sponsored another special event in June — an open house at its museum in Central School, Sterling, at which John W. Davis, of Kirkwood, Missouri, was guest of honor. Mr. Davis and his sister Susan were presented life memberships in the Society as a token of appreciation for their generosity. The Davises donated the fine Whiteside County historical collections of their father, W. W. Davis, to the Sterling-Rock Falls Society in 1959 soon after the organization was formed.

J. Robert Smith, of Carmi, was re-elected president of the White County Historical Society at a picnic meeting on Sunday, July

31. Other officers are James R. Endicott, vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Garner, secretary; David L. Stanley, treasurer; James M. Pomeroy and Dr. A. E. Stocke, directors.

Mrs. J. M. Pomeroy is the new chairman of the museum ways and means committee. Since the Society began restoration of the old Ratcliff Inn to provide space for a Society headquarters and a museum, contributions to the

museum fund have totaled \$6,480 and expenditures, \$6,198.

Another new local historical museum is that of the Winnetka Historical Society in a fireproof room in the basement of the Winnetka library. Museum displays, arranged under the direction of Samuel S. Otis, will feature relics of the wreck of the *Lady Elgin*, which took place on Lake Michigan in September, 1860.

Correction of Error in Summer Issue

Dr. Victor E. Beck, of Rock Island, writes that in the report of the Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society (on page 209 of the *Summer Journal*) one of his several titles was listed incorrectly. The account said that

he was "president of the Augustana [Historical] Society and head of the Augustana Book Concern." His position with the latter organization, he says, is "Secretary of Literature," which means "book editor."

Civil War Centennial Gets Increased Attention

Increased interest in the approaching centennial of the Civil War brought the Historical Society's Executive Director Clyde C. Walton a number of requests for talks and conferences during the final quarter of 1960. These and his other non-routine activities are listed here:

October 7-9: Attended the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Rockford.

October 9-10: Went to Cairo for meeting with the Chamber of Commerce and U. S. Army engineers concerning the possibility of

acquiring a surplus river boat for the Cairo Point-Fort Defiance State Park.

October 12: At East Moline for Illinois Library Association executive committee meeting on National Library Week in Illinois.

October 16-17: Attended first meetings of the Friends of the Southern Illinois University Library, at Chester and Carbondale; served as master of ceremonies at the Monday afternoon session.

October 18-19: In Indianapolis for regional meeting of the National Civil War Centennial Com-

mission; took part in panel discussion of Illinois' plans for the observance.

October 26-29: Attended annual meeting of Illinois Library Association held in collaboration with the Missouri Library Association in St. Louis.

October 29: Addressed the Illinois State Normal University chapter of Pi Gamma Mu on the subject of Illinois and the Civil War.

November 2: Met with President Glenn H. Seymour in Charleston on State Historical Society plans for the year.

November 3: Addressed the American Business Club of Springfield on the coming Civil War Centennial.

November 4: In Chicago for the twentieth anniversary meeting of the Chicago Civil War Round Table.

November 5: Addressed the young married group of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Springfield on Illinois and the Civil War.

November 9: In Urbana for meeting with representatives of the University of Illinois concerning a possible study of manuscript resources in the state.

November 10: In Chicago for meeting of the Chicago Civil War Round Table.

November 11: In Bloomington for meeting of the management

board of the David Davis Mansion.

November 12-13: Attended sessions and addressed annual meeting of the American Ethnohistory Society in Bloomington, Indiana.

November 16: In Quincy for first meeting of the local Civil War Round Table.

November 17: Took part, along with Bernard Wax and Mrs. Olive Foster of the Historical Library staff, in half-hour television show about the Library and Historical Society on station WTTW, Chicago.

November 20-22: Acted as Illinois host for official delegation of four Russian Cultural Exchange visitors.

November 29: Addressed meeting of St. Clair County Historical Society, in Belleville.

November 30: Visited Civil War battlefields at Ironton and Belmont, Missouri.

December 6: Acted as moderator for a panel discussion by members of the American Society for Public Administration on the subject "Prospective Legislation in the Seventy-second Illinois General Assembly"—in Springfield.

December 12: Addressed first meeting of the Elgin Area Historical Society.

December 16: In Jacksonville to address Rotary Club on "Christmas during the Civil War."

December 22-23: In Chicago for meeting on manuscript preservation.



